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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2162

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# EAST EUROPE REPORT

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MOTIVES FOR CANCELLATION OF HONECKER'S FRG TRIP ANALYZED

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 4 May 83 p 4

[Article signed 'sk,' datelined Berlin, 1 May: "Honecker's Cancellation of Visit to Kohl—Indications of Motives" A translation of the East Berlin NEUER WEG article cited below is published under the heading, "Crucial Stages of Unofficial Peace Movement Analyzed," in a recent JPRS issue of this series]

[Text] The cancellation of Honecker's visit to the FRG has led to guessing and speculations about the true reasons and motives for this decision. According to East Berlin's official version, it "is the situation which has developed in the FRG, as it is also expressed in various press commentaries," which has brought about this decision of Honecker's cancellation. But even if this motive has in recent days been considerably propagandized by the government-controlled GDR media as the sole decisive reason for the cancellation, the true political reasons are likely to be different. A number of indications speak for this theory.

Abrassimow's Influence?

There are some indications that the SED kept the option open until the final cancellation. In an editorial published a few days before the cancellation by the government news agency ADN (NZZ No 97), referring to remarks made by Honecker, East Berlin's desire for normal inter-German cooperation with the FRG was expressed as well as a warning not to test the transit agreement through an "inflammatory and slanderous campaign." The FRG's permanent representatives in East Berlin were therefore surprised by the brusque manner of the cancellation. Based on Honecker's telephone promise to Kohl, that an extensive investigation of the cause of death in the Burkert case is being done in Drewitz, and because of the investigation results presented at that time, the permanent representatives did not expect a cancellation of the Honecker trip in spite of the increasing press campaign in the GDR.

It cannot be ruled out that a talk between Honecker and Abrassimow, the Soviet ambassador to East Berlin, has finally been decisive in the GDR leaders' decision. Indicative is the fact that the cancellation came the following day after the talk with Abrassimow. Political observers in Berlin assume that Abrassimow urged the cancellation during the talk, which was officially held

as preparation of Honecker's visit to Moscow in the beginning of May. It is possible that behind this urging by the Soviet Union is the estimation that the Bonn government, in case the Geneva negotiations fail, will insist that the stationing of U.S. Pershing II rockets will commence this year, and that this could not be prevented even by any attempted East Berlin influence on the FRG. Since in view of Bonn's position on the question of rocket stationing, the Eastern alliance is interested in a destabilization rather than a stabilization of the Kohl government, the cancellation would serve precisely that interest.

#### Fear of a Split Within the FRG Peace Movement

Recent SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] press releases also indicate that East Berlin is losing hope that they will be able to prevent the stationing of rockets in the FRG with the help of the peace movement. NEUER WEG, an SED Central Committee publication, fears a split within the peace movement in the FRG. The "most aggressive circles of imperialism" were betting on the differing social, political, and ideological views held by the various forces within the peace movement. According to NEUER WEG, it is their target "to play one off against the other" and to cause confusion within the peace movement with the help of dissidents. The GDR Institute for International Politics and Economy argues similarly by stating that the "most aggressive imperialists circles are attempting to paralyze the explosive demands for cancellation of the NATO missile agreement through anti-Soviet lies and defamations at the same time trying to split the peace movement."

For that reason it cannot be ruled out that--since the chances for any economic and financial concessions by Bonn to East Berlin following Honecker's visit are extremely small, and since a political price in the form of human alleviation of suffering in relations between the two German states would have to be paid for it--a political Eastern-alliance interest in the cancellation stemming from the Soviet Union has played a considerable part in East Berlin's decision.

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## HINTS PROVIDED ON USING LASER RANGE FINDERS

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 3, 1983 (signed to press 11 Mar 83)  
pp 148-150

["Principles, Functions, Trends" feature article by Lt Col U. Vetter and Lt Col P. Paasch, engineer: "Range Measurement with Laser Beam"]

[Text] After the birth of quantum electronics in 1954, development of a fundamentally new type of light-wave generator was being discussed during the early part of 1960 (communication by T. Maiman in the London journal NATURE). A small laser device was demonstrated in the laboratory of T. Maiman. "Those who...directed their view toward the device noticed a light beam, the diameter of a pencil at most, emanating from the front side. Without becoming any wider, this beam hit wall and ended in a blinding, round spot".[1]

The advantages of this single-color light beam, also called a monochromatic light beam, with its small angular divergence, started a worldwide development of high-powered light-pulse generators. The present state of science and technology guarantees application of lasers (light amplification by stimulated emission of radiation) over great distances with previously unattainable angular resolution and with great accuracy in range measurement, at the same time permitting small dimensions of the laser device.

In MILTAERTECHNIK, Vol. 1/82, principles of military range finding applications are described [2]. One of the criteria of artillery reconnaissance is the accuracy required for determination of target coordinates within range of the artillery system. For range finding, indirect measurement with optical or radar devices is used. Most recently laser devices have also been used for range finding in military technology.

### 1. Methods of Range Finding

In order to clarify the advantages of using laser range finders, accuracy must be considered and existing methods of coordinate determination must be compared.

#### 1.1 Measuring with Stereoscopic Range Finders

In distance measurements with optical range finders (stereoscopic range finders) the human ability of stereoscopic vision is used to sense distance differences in depth. The accuracy is determined by the possible magnification and base width of the binocular optical device and by the square of the distance  $E$  which is to be determined. The expected deviation is called the theoretical error  $\Delta E$  and is calculated according to Formula 1.

$$\Delta E = K \cdot E^2 \quad (1)$$

The constant  $K$  is here equipment-limited and depends on the power of stereoscopic vision of the human eye.

$$K = \frac{4.8 \cdot 10^{-6} \cdot \Delta_0'}{B \cdot \Gamma} \quad (2)$$

$\Delta_0'$  designates the resolution of the human eye,  $B$  the base width (distance between light admission openings), and  $\Gamma$  the magnification of the telescope.

Design of optical range finders and the increase of values for  $B$  and  $\Gamma$  are limited by technical limitations. Maximum magnification with a distortionless image is 15.

The magnitude of  $B$  is limited by details in construction, related to use in military applications. Up to now the largest devices were built for ground artillery with  $B$  up to 2 meters, while for anti-aircraft artillery values of  $B$  up to 4 meters have been used.

For  $\Delta_0'$ , mean experimental values of 10 " (angular seconds) have been determined. In order to reduce the base dimensions, balanced methods have been developed in the DDR. The human eye is more responsive to balanced measurements which are carried out with the aid of an electrical oscillating device. The accuracy can be increased by a factor of  $\sqrt{V} = 1.73$  in such measurements, as compared with coincidence measurements, where the target must correspond spatially with a stereoscopic mark. For this type of method the constant  $K$  assumes the value  $K_1$ .

$$K_1 = \frac{K}{\sqrt{V}} \quad (3)$$

The oscillating mechanism is built into optical range finders. An example illustrates the accuracy of an actual stereoscopic optical range finder with a base of 1 meter and a magnification factor of 12.



For a distance measurement we obtain according to (1) and (2)

$$\Delta E_{\text{max}} = 4 \cdot E_{\text{max}}^2$$

and thus, given a distance of 3,000 meters, a deviation of  $\Delta E = 36$  meters. This rather large error determines the useful limits of such devices, taking into account the accuracy standards required in artillery operations. The error can only be modified by improvement of the value of  $\Delta_0'$ .

A conclusion regarding existing optical range finders is that an increase of reconnaissance range by decrease of the theoretical error can only be achieved through good selection of members of the armed forces to serve as range finder operators, and through constant training with the devices, so that values of  $\Delta_0' \approx .2'' - .5''$  can be achieved.

### 1.2 Range Finding with Radar

Another method, which is independent of the individual measuring operator characteristics, is the indirect method based on reflective ranging. This method forms the basis of radar methods and laser based ranging. Achievable accuracies, resolution, and reconnaissance depth are primarily based on the properties of electromagnetic waves in the various wave bands and on the pulse characteristics of the signals. While in radar the microwave region and pulse durations of the order of magnitude of  $10^{-6}$  to  $10^{-7}$  seconds are primarily used, laser devices operate in the visible light and infrared region with pulse lengths of  $10^{-8}$  seconds. Since the reflective technique applies equally well to radar and to lasers, the principle will be illustrated with an example from radar technology.



Figures 1 and 2 illustrate the measuring principle of a pulse radar.

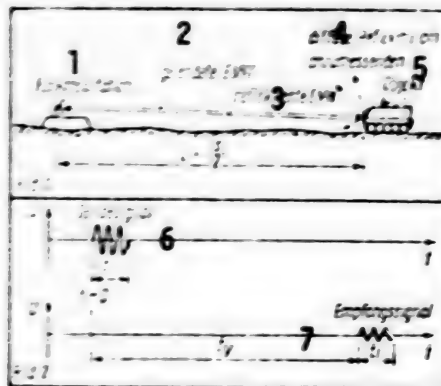


Bild 1 Entfernungsmeßprinzip

EMW elektromagnetische Welle, E Entfernung, s Weg der EMW

Bild 2 Meßprinzip einer Impuls-Funkmeßstation

Figure 1 Range Measurement Principle

Figure 2 Measurement Principle  
Pulse Radar Station

EMW Electromagnetic Wave

E Distance

s Path of the electromagnetic wave

1 Radar station

2 Transmitted wave

3 Reflected wave

4 Diffuse reflection from target

5 Target

6 Transmitted signal

7 Received signal

Since we can assume for the normal earth atmosphere a propagation velocity of electromagnetic waves with sufficient accuracy as

$$v = c_0 = 300\,000\text{ km.s}^{-1} = \text{const.}$$

we can apply the law of uniform linear motion.

$$v = \frac{s}{t} \quad (4)$$

The radar station sends transmission signals of  $t = 0$  in the form of powerful, short-time, high-frequency pulses which are bunched in the direction of the target. They propagate with velocity  $v = c$  in the earth's atmosphere and hit the target, and a small portion of the reflected radiation is then received after time  $t_v$  (transit time) has elapsed.

Using equation (4), we can calculate the distance according to

$$E = \frac{c}{2} \cdot t_v \quad (4)$$

where the division by 2 is required since the pulses traverse the distance radar-target twice during the time  $t_v$ .

Equation (5) illustrates that the radar principle is based on a measurement of the transit time, where the time interval between emission of the transmitted pulse  $t = 0$  and the return of the reflected pulse ( $t = t_v$ ) is measured. If the known value of  $c$  is substituted in equation (5), it is easily recognized that the time measurements are of the order of magnitude of microseconds. A distance of  $E = 150$  meters corresponds to a transit time of  $t_v = 1$  microsecond. In a radar device the target is normally shown on a cathode ray tube, and measurements are made with quartz-stabilized measuring pulses whose phase can be varied (phase measurement method).

Measurement accuracy is independent of distance, in contrast with the stereoscopic optical method. Factors which affect accuracy are the actual propagation conditions, the signal processing method in the receiving system (deviation from the signal spectrum), and inaccuracies of the strobe marker and interpolation errors because of inaccurate target representation in the various scales on the indicator screen.

Distance measurement accuracy  $\Delta E$  of a radar system is characterized by the mean quadratic error, which corresponds to a probability  $p$  ( $\Delta E$ ) = 68.3% and which can be expressed by the following equation:

$$\Delta E = \Delta E_{\text{pot}} \cdot \eta_E \quad (5)$$

Here  $\Delta E_{\text{pot}}$  (potential accuracy) indicates the component of the measuring error which is caused by the signal-to-noise ratio and the signal processing and  $\eta_E$  indicates the component which considers the measurement error of the indicator device and the actual propagation conditions.

Starting with the condition that for artillery radars  $t_i = .1-.3$  microsecond and that indicator screens use scales of 1 km, 2 km, 4 km, 10 km, and greater, such devices can achieve measurement accuracies of  $\Delta E = 10-20$  meters [4].

This error can be influenced by the operator through accurate tuning of the indicator device, choice of a suitable scale, and exact adjustment of the strobe marker to the target mark.

For distance measurements, this error still provides sufficient accuracy. Focusing of the radiated electromagnetic waves, which is the most important criterion for lateral resolution, can be achieved, however, only with relatively large geometric dimensions of the antenna installation.

### 1.3 Measuring with Laser Range Finders

The laser, an amplified light beam in the range of visible light, has the great advantage of coherence and small divergence. During the exciting of the atoms, the so-called pumping, single-wave (coherent) light, i.e. single-color (monochromatic) light, is created. This makes it possible for the total volume of active material to oscillate as a whole so that light amplifications are achieved which can be used as "giant pulses" for range measurement over large distances. In this way astonishing values of small beam divergence are noted. During a measurement of the distance between the earth and the moon in 1963 it was determined that the laser ray illuminated only an area of 1.6 km diameter on the moon. [5]

By means of additional optics for laser projectors, the focusing of the beam can still be increased. The coherence and good focusing of the laser beam offer the advantage of very accurate distance measuring capability, based on the principle of electronic transit time measurement of the beam and the advantage of good lateral resolution (numerical resolution of targets).

Corresponding to the requirements for artillery reconnaissance for distances up to 10 km, a focusing of the laser beam to about 2 meters is sufficient to separate individual targets (vehicles, emplacements) from other objects in the environment (trees, buildings, etc), i.e. to determine the true distance to the actual target.

The accuracy criterion in range determination lies in the electronic measurement of the transit time of the laser beam. Here the expected distance error is independent of the distance and is a fixed constant for the range finding instrument. Production-run laser range finders in general have permissible error of  $\Delta E = \pm 10$  meters and are adequate for artillery measurements. Lateral errors are  $\Delta \alpha = 0-01-0-02$ .

Naturally there also are certain disadvantages associated with laser range finders such as refraction and diffraction of light rays which result from the laws of optics. Because of the strong focusing, it is possible that one can "shoot past" a target with a laser range finder. This disadvantage can be overcome, however, by a repeat measurement with a slight lateral correction (0-01 left or right). Also the possibility of a "non-hit" is quite low, considering the expected target widths.

In summary, we can make the following assessment: advantages of laser range finding permit the statement that we see here a development trend in the field of range finding instruments. Equipment is being improved based on scientific and technological achievements, and at the same time physical dimensions are being reduced. Accuracies achieved so far satisfy needs and requirements of military reconnaissance. Surely there also will be changes in this direction.

## 2. Guidance for the Use of Laser Range Finders

Laser beam range measurement can be considered a very simple method, compared with other methods. In military technology, laser range finders are coupled with observational instruments. This simplifies sighting of desired objects or of targets because of the magnification factor of the optical device, which is generally  $\Gamma = 10$ . This almost totally excludes the possibility of "shooting past the target" caused by subjective errors, since the target seen through the optical device is shown larger than the target mark on the reticle. Only at very great distances are sighting errors possible which are caused by the very small target image.

In order to avoid adjustment errors in the parallelism of the optical axes of the laser range finder and the observational instrument, the receiving part of the laser optical system and the observational optics are constructed as one unit. These considerations lead to conclusions regarding safety regulations in connection with use of laser range finders.

While on the one hand safe distances in the beam direction have been established for each range finding device, on the other hand the distance of the prohibited measurement region is 300 meters, to protect the eyes of range finder personnel from reflected laser rays. Operators are to be instructed formally about safety measures before they are authorized to use laser range finders.

This instruction authorizes members of the armed forces, who, based on military regulations, were trained with the device, to operate the device. A specially documented operators certificate, documenting the authorization, is not required, unless later required by additional military regulations.

An unavoidable disadvantage in laser range finding results from the laws of geometrical and wave optics. Errors are caused by partial reflection from the smallest obstacles such as branches or wires or by the refraction at interfaces between several media during increased air humidity, rain or fog. Also, existing magnetic fields cause refraction of the laser beam. Possible erroneous results in measuring selected targets because of premature partial reflection can be eliminated by selection of stop pulses (laser pulses reflected at a later time) at a later repeat measurement (figure 3). This requires training in map-territory comparison to estimate the measured distance at the desired target range. Erroneous measurements caused by reflection or refraction of the laser beam are corrected by immediate repeat measurement of the target with an azimuth change of 0-01 right or left. Naturally, targets of very short duration cannot be dealt with.

Based on the sequencing of physical processes occurring in laser range finder operation, generally two stages, ready for operation and ready for action, are distinguished.

The ready for operation stage exists when:

- the observational system is ready (all covers removed, eye distance and diopter adjusted, and no condensation on lenses),
- the power supply is switched on and
- conditions for operation are fulfilled (choice of filters, illumination and brightness during night operations).

Operational readiness can be established for long time periods but should be interrupted by work breaks.

Ready for action status is achieved when the required operating voltage of the charging capacitors is stabilized by acutation of the provided devices. Ready for action status is indicated outside of and within the optical system and is maintained for about 3 minutes during the short-time regime. If temperature changes of the active material occur, ready for action status is interrupted during the time of the heating and cooling of the active material.

Figure 3

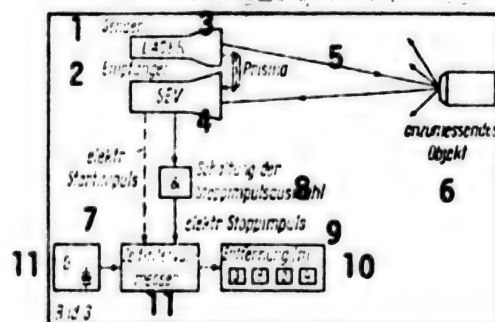


Bild 3 Prinzip der Entfernungsmessung mit Laserstrahl  
SEV Sekundärelektronenvervielfacher

- Key:
1. Transmitter
  2. Receiver
  3. Laser
  4. Secondary Electron Multiplier
  5. Prism
  6. Target
  7. Start Pulse
  8. Circuit for Stop Pulse Selection
  9. Electronic Stop Pulse
  10. Distance Indicator
  11. Time Interval Meter
  12. Crystal Control



In conclusion we can state that operation of the laser range finder is simple and easy to understand. High accuracy and reliability of these equipments guarantee timely solution of artillery reconnaissance and weapons delivery tasks. The disadvantage of not being able to measure distances with lasers during heavy fog must be considered in relative perspective because the opponent must operate under similar conditions and because fog areas of such concentration occur relatively rarely in the Central European area. [5]

### 3. Final Remarks

At the present time military technology uses all methods described here. Corresponding to the task at hand, optical devices have the advantage of permitting simultaneous observation of the battlefield and characterization of the recognizable targets. The development trend lies in the coupling of observational gear and range finder and in the possibly combined deployment according to the tactical task. Instruments are mounted on base vehicles and are also deployed as portable devices. On the one hand radar technology shows great advantages under poor visibility and at night; on the other hand the probability of detection by the opponent because of the active processes is very great.

Thus development of low-illumination amplifiers (passive operation) and their deployment in connection with optical devices is considered very important. Modern laser range finders are equipped with passive night vision instruments for battlefield observation and for range determination. Criteria of reliability and of reconnaissance depth of laser-based devices are power supply and the material utilization of the active material (number of measurements). Scientific and technical progress will also determine the quality of laser range finders in military applications.

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MILITARY STIPULATIONS IN REVISED CONTRACT LAW ANALYZED

East Berlin WIRTSCHAFTSRECHT in German Vol 14 No 2, 1983 (signed to press 15 Feb 83) pp 62-63

[Article by Dr Alfred Triebke, department chief, Central Court of Contracts: "National Defense in the New Contract Law." Translations of the official texts of the October 1981 Deliveries Decree (LVO) and Military Buyers Decree (MAVO), cited in footnotes 2 and 3, are published under the heading "New Regulations on Defense Deliveries, Military Buyers Published," in JPRS 80076, 10 Feb 82, No 19/4 of this series, pp 13-39 and 39-49, respectively. A translation of the 25 March 1982 Contract Law, discussed below, accompanied by the State Contract Court chairman's explanation, is published under the heading, "New Law on Contracts Sets Responsibilities, Sanctions," in JPRS 80875, 21 May 82, EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS No 2272, pp 24-73]

[Text] The directive of the 10th SED Congress systematically to perfect socialist law as an important management tool according to the demands of social development is also to be fulfilled by including questions of the reliable military protection of the GDR. Two main directions in the continued development of socialist law appeared in connection with the legal form of the economic safeguarding of national defense and the fulfillment of the economic tasks to guarantee internal security and order. For one thing, legal regulations whose direct subject is economic defense tasks were to be adapted to the demands of the future. Thus, based on the Defense Law (1) approved by the People's Chamber on 13 October 1978 and put into effect on 15 October 1981, the new version of the Decree on Deliveries and Services to the Armed Organs--Deliveries Decree (2)--was issued. This decree meets the growing requirements for the economic safeguarding of the defense tasks and is directed toward consistent fulfillment of these tasks. Additional special legal regulations in the military-economic field (3) were revised in connection with the new LVO version, as regards both time and content, so that by the end of 1981 a unified, complex legal regulation to ensure economic defense needs according to the political, military, and economic conditions of the eighties was available.

On the other hand, it was necessary to clarify the questions of the economic safeguarding of the socialist national defense and of internal security and order as an organic component of the policy of the party of the working class



and of the socialist state to the necessary extent also in legal provisions that regulate other partial processes of our social life and thus require the connection to questions of national defense. Thus the inclusion of separate legal provisions for national defense in this basic law for the management of the national economy proved to be necessary in the new version of the Contract Law. What is involved here are the provisions of Articles 5 and 25 of the Contract Law.

As an integrated part of the uniform reproduction process and also of the economic policy of the socialist state, the economic safeguarding of national defense is included in the basic goals of the Contract Law and in many individual provisions. The close link of the Defense Law regulations with those of the cooperation law is desired from a legal-policy concern, since only in this manner is it possible to meet the demands of the practice on the socialist law.

In revising the contract law and its implementing decrees, the aim was to find solutions that fully correspond to the demands for the economic safeguarding of national defense. The mission and legal duty formulated with the new version of the Contract Law to shape the business contract more comprehensively and more effectively as a management tool to meet the economically justified demand of the state, of the economy and of the people corresponds to the requirements of national defense in the realization of its demand under the conditions of the peacetime economy. Newly developed questions of the structure of our economy—especially the development and sharpening of the image of the combines—were solved in the cooperation law in full agreement with the military-economic interests. An amendment resulting from compelling military requirements was added to article 10 of the LVO.

#### The Principle of the Absolute Duty to Satisfy the Demand in Article 25 of the Contract Law

In Article 25 of the Contract Law, the link between the socialist economy and national defense becomes evident. Of this link Engels said that "nothing is more dependent on economic preconditions than especially the army and the navy" (4). On the other hand, military power is an important condition for curbing aggressive circles of imperialism and safeguarding peaceful socialist development. These dialectical relations between economy and socialist national defense determine the military-economic principle of the absolute satisfaction of defense demand that was included in Article 25 of the Contract Law.

The legal duty stipulated in Article 25 of the Contract Law to satisfy the planned demand of the armed organs as regards quantity, assortment, quality, and time in every case goes back to the stipulations of the defense law. According to Article 7, Section 1 of the Defense Law, the economy is to be managed and planned so that national defense is economically ensured at all times. To that extent it would not have required inclusion of Article 25 in the Contract Law if there had not been the requirement of the complex presentation of all sides of the cooperation relations as well as the necessity of exact determination of the varied economic needs. A detailed

characterization of the military demand and its rank in socialist cooperation therefore is essential for an understanding of Article 25 of the Contract Law.

Generally the military-economic demand is the norm for satisfying the needs of national defense that are determined by the political leadership according to the international situation and the military-strategic objectives of national defense while furthermore taking into account the societal demand to be met. This military-economic demand thus is the binding measure of material defense expenditures to fulfill the military class mission in the national framework as well as also in the socialist defense coalition of the Warsaw Pact countries. Extent and structure of the demand is determined so that the military missions can be fulfilled with it. In this case the assumption is that the stipulated demand of the national defense organs actually will be fully met in accordance with delivery date, quality, and assortment.

The militarily most important demand of GDR national defense is declared obligatory by the chairman of the State Planning Commission on orders of the chairman of the Council of Ministers within the framework of the central state military-economic planning. Such demand is being assigned as special state tasks and special state quotas by quantity and structure. These state tasks and state quotas--just as further demand of the national defense organs--are to form the basis, according to Article 8 of the LVO, for planning, balancing material supply and demand, and contractual regulation of the delivery and production relations between the armed organs as buyers and the final producers as well as in the prior stages of cooperation.

In contrast to the general economic demand, in the case of military-economic demand two special features have an effect which, aside from the political importance of the defense demand, shape the principle of the absolute duty to satisfy the demand and are the reasons for the legal provisions. For one thing, the determination of the military-economic demand is made by the political leadership of the state, keeping in mind military as well as economic criteria. Therefore, in practice only such organs can make changes in the military-economic demand which can assess not only the economic conditions but also the political and military effects on the armed organs and the fulfillment of their military mission. Neither a plant director, nor a general director, nor a minister, nor a bezirk council chairman is permitted to make decisions that would endanger or make impossible the safeguarding of the military missions. Meeting the demand for the armed organs must be ensured in every case.

If objectively speaking there are no possibilities nor preconditions in the enterprise or in the management sphere to fulfill the military-economic tasks, the legal provisions allow in exceptional cases redetermination of the military-economic demand by organs capable of assessing all sides of the change in demand. After stipulated requirements for approval have been met, managers and ministers or bezirk council chairmen on their own can effect changes in demand in precisely specified cases (Article 11, Sections 4 and 7 of the LVO).

The second special feature consists in the fact that the military-economic demand is stipulated only in the amount absolutely required for the fulfillment of the military class mission. Thus the material effects of national defense on the other funds of society available for distribution are being kept as small as possible. This tendency to minimize defense demand--limited in its effect by the necessary protection and security requirements--is supported in the armed organs by the most economical use possible of the material and financial funds.

Improper intervention in making the defense demand available can considerably impair fulfillment of the military class mission. Therefore, socialist law has to ensure that, once stipulated, defense demand includes a claim to its satisfaction not only in general terms but that this claim to satisfaction is absolutely guaranteed. This is accomplished mainly through the LVO but also through the basic norms of the Contract Law. Article 25 of the Contract Law has already made an important contribution, so that the politically and military-economically justified demand for economic strengthening of socialist national defense in our society could continue to be implemented.

#### Relationship of Article 25 to Article 26 of the Contract Law

With the inclusion of legal priority in the new Contract Law--Article 26 of the Contract Law--not only the emphasis on the defense demand and its satisfaction at all times was required but also determination of the relationship of the two kinds of demand became necessary. "The tasks for the economic safeguarding of national defense and of the internal security and order are to be guaranteed comprehensively and with priority according to the requirements of the 1981-1985 5-year plan period." (5) This political-strategic orientation of the 10th SED Congress corresponded to the already described characteristics of the defense demand in our society; it emphasized the societal priority of the duty to satisfy demand.

With the development of further priority demand in the process of preparing the Contract Law and in the regulation of Article 26 of the Contract Law, doubts had to arise whether a politically and economically correct determination of the defense demand was still possible within the framework of a general priority to which further economic demand was assigned--capacities to implement the state science and technology plan and capital goods export projects and further projects and tasks determined by legal provisions. Starting from the assessment of the effectiveness of the Defense Law regulations and of the instruments to safeguard absolute satisfaction of defense demand already developed in legal practice, it became evident that the defense demand required a legal regulation apart from the priority demand. What was important above all was to make clear the lacking ability to contract the defense demand also in the framework of general priorities and to meet unequivocally the duty to satisfy the demand. As a consequence, the defense demand was legally regulated as demand of a special kind and separate from the general priority.

Although at first there continued to be uncertainties as regards the use of the term priority in the explanation of the new Contract Law, there was nonetheless clarity from the start on the special character of the defense

demand according to Article 25 of the Contract Law and on its relationship to the priority demand according to Article 26 of the Contract Law. "If Article 25 of the law provides that the conclusion and fulfillment of the economic contracts to safeguard national defense economically has to take place so that the planned demand of the armed organs must be met as regards quantity, assortment, quality, and time in every case, then the provision of Article 26, Section 2 again underscores that the economic safeguarding of national defense must take place before satisfaction of any other priority demand. This priority provision of the Contract Law does justice to the principle of Article 7 of the Defense Law, according to which the economy is to be managed and planned, so that national defense is economically safeguarded at all times." (6)

The verdicts of the State Contract Court start from the idea that in the area of validity of the Contract Law, priority demand is restricted to the products and services mentioned in Article 26 of the Contract Law or those stipulated thereafter; the demand of the national defense organs is described as demand to be met in every case and is implemented without compromise and absolutely. In this connection, Article 26 of the Contract Law must logically be disregarded for the implementation of the defense demand, because since it was created exclusively for the regulation of the priority demand in Article 26, Section 1 of the Contract Law.

The military-economic demand which is the subject of Article 25 of the Contract Law and its absolute satisfaction is being ensured according to the provisions of the LVO. Articles 8, 9, 11, and 16 of the LVO form the essential legal basis for ensuring the absolute duty to satisfy demand in concluding business contracts and for the behavior of the partners as well as for the verdicts of the State Contract Court. Thus Article 9, Section 2 of the LVO stipulates that the responsible managers must guarantee that handed-over funds and available capacities are used on a priority basis to meet the planned military-economic demand. As a consequence refusal or temporary refusal to conclude a contract on LVO demand is illegal if funds and capacities are available in the plant but are being used for priority demand according to Article 26 of the Contract Law or other demand. In these cases there exists the duty to redistribute in favor of defense demand. A decision is to be made according to the general regulations (for example, Article 24, Section 1 of the Contract Law) concerning the production duties affected thereby.

Excluded from the legal duty according to Article 9, Section 2 of the Contract Law are demand requests that were brought to the producers during the plan period (Article 13 of the LVO) by the buyers mentioned in Article 3, Sections 1-3 of the LVO.

The duties that the managers must fulfill in case problems arise in the process of balancing material supply and demand, contract conclusion or fulfillment of the contract are comprehensively regulated in Articles 11 and 16 of the Contract Law. A prerequisite for bringing in the next higher manager is that the difficulties cannot be overcome by the respective manager's own effort in spite of the possibilities available through use of the socialist production method. Cases of faulty use of available funds or capacities deviating from Article 9, Section 2 of the LVO do not justify a temporary refusal to conclude a contract according to Article 16, Section 2 of the LVO with the consequence of bringing in the management and material balancing



organs to safeguard the LVO demand. Here, on the level of the economic unit, the use of the funds and capacities is to be ensured independently according to the legal regulations. In connection with the saving provision regarding temporary refusal to conclude a contract, Article 16, Section 2 of the LVO stipulates that the right of refusal ceases following the end of the deadlines granted for making the decision on meeting the demand.

#### Concerning Inclusion in the Plan of the Military-Economic Demand

Not accidental is the stipulation contained in Article 25 of the Contract Law, according to which the concern of the absolute duty to satisfy demand is the safeguarding of the planned demand of the armed organs. The stipulation corresponds to the regulation in Article 8, Section 1 of the Defense Law, according to which the economic safeguarding of the national defense is based on the plans. The central state military-economic planning is the binding planning basis according to Article 1, Section 2 of the LVO. Included here are special state tasks and state quotas as well as the other demand requirements of the national defense organs based on the index figures of central state military-economic planning.

Military-economic planning is the part of the uniform economic planning that is formed on the basis of exact military requirements as well as on the available economic possibilities and safeguards the military demand required for the fulfillment of the military tasks of the armed organs. Connected with the duty of the military buyers to provide their material balance sheet and to hand over contract offers (Article 8, Section 2 of the LVO), there is thus a guarantee that on the management side as well as in the planning and material balancing organs the necessary prerequisites exist for planning, balancing, contract formation, and fulfillment of the business contracts, fully taking military demand into account.

Duties for absolute satisfaction of the military-economic demand arise only in view of the limiting regulations of the LVO Articles 3 and 4. Thus, for example, the application of the LVO by the buyers mentioned in Article 3, Sections 1-3 is possible only to the extent of the material and financial funds stipulated for the satisfaction of their demand, that is in case these buyers conclude a contract--in case of production requiring a material balance sheet share or quota--they must have appropriate balance sheet shares and/or quotas or are able to apply for them properly in view of LVO Article 16, Section 1. If these buyers do not prove that a material balance-sheet share or quota has been applied for or issued, the planned producer may justifiably refuse to conclude the contract. Legal duties according to Article 11 of the LVO do not arise for the producer in these instances.

The LVO, according to Article 3, Section 5 of the LVO, can be claimed in the cooperation chain only if:

--this is expressly derived from the LVO,

--the requested service cannot be performed in one's own enterprise or combine.

—the requested service is to become part of products or services for customers.

According to Article 9 of the LVO, every plant has to make priority use of the balance-sheet shares or quotas assigned to it for the production of defense needs. If there are none or if they are insufficient, the authorized investor or the supply area is to be asked for reallocation or the organization responsible for balancing material supply and demand is to be induced to provide for priority measures under reference to Article 7, Section 7 of the material balance sheet decree.

In the cooperation chain, problems concerning balancing material supply and demand or issuance of quotas may lead to temporary refusal to conclude the contract in observance of LVO Articles 16 and 11. This is necessary in the interest of absolute safeguarding of defense needs, so that the performance for the armed organs is not being endangered or made impossible in organizing cooperation relations.

In such cases the State Contract Court sees to it that the organization of cooperation and the use of funds occur according to legal regulations.

In conclusion, to understand Article 25 of the LVO it should be pointed out that the regulation of the duty to satisfy the demand of the armed organs is not to be interpreted in a narrow sense. Starting from the fact that the LVO in its area of application comprises, in addition to the armed organs, other national defense organs and measures, Article 25 of the Contract Law should apply in the same area of validity. Through the regulation on the differentiated area of validity in the LVO, it is also assured that the armed organs buyers according to LVO Article 3, Section 1) receive legal attention commensurate with their military-policy position in relation to other buyers (according to LVO Article 3, Sections 2 and 3) or other authorized consumers (according to LVO Article 3, Section 5).

#### On the Relationship of the Contract Law to the LVO

As a consequence of the linkage of economic and military questions inherent in the matter and present under the law, regulations dealing with economic and defense law constitute a binding basis for satisfying the military-economic needs. In Article 5 of the Contract Law, in agreement with Article 4, Section 2 of the LVO, it was settled that the LVO—and according to Article 5 of the Contract Law also additional special legal provisions—has priority over the regulations of the Contract Law. Accordingly, the provisions of the Contract Law apply if there are no regulations or no other regulations in the LVO.

The relationship of the two legal regulations was carefully coordinated in the process of preparation. The LVO settles the questions that deviate from the general legal provisions as a result of the special nature of the economic relations of armed organs. Thus the LVO does not include all regulations important to the economic relations of the armed organs. A manageable body of regulations for the military-economic safeguarding of national defense

exists only by linking the LVO with the supplementary cooperation law provisions of the Contract Law and its implementing decrees.

Important questions of the activity of the armed organs are completely settled in the LVO, such as, for example, the principle generally formulated in Article 25 of the Contract Law of the absolute safeguarding of demand. Therefore, as already stated, recourse to Article 26 of the Contract Law is unnecessary also for this reason.

Similar facts in the LVO and in the Contract Law can lead to the application of both the LVO and Contract Law regulations, such as, for example, in cases of violations of state discipline the provision of Article 28 of the LVO and those of Articles 109 and 110 of the Contract Law applying depending upon the proper classification of the violation of duty involved. In case of economic sanctions in the area of application of the LVO in the fulfillment of one of the facts regulated in Article 28 of the LVO, a gross violation stipulated under the law (Article 109, Section 2 of the Contract Law) is always regarded as present in every case in this connection.

In conclusion it should be pointed out that, in connection with new or developed legal provisions in both regulations, questions of delimitation arise in practice that can be answered only by further verdicts of the State Contract Court. An example to be mentioned is operational control according to Article 24, Section 3 of the Contract Law in the area of application of the LVO. Even though the LVO has no specific provision relating to this legal instrument, the regulations indicate that also as regards products subject to operational control only the organs and managers mentioned in Article 11, Section 7 of the LVO can make decisions leading to a new determination of the needs of the armed organs.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Law of 13 October 1978 on the GDR National Defense (Defense Law) (GBL, Part I, No 35, p 377).
2. GBL, Part I, No 31, p 357.
3. As an example please note the 15 October 1981 decree on the Activity of Military Buyers—Military Buyers Decree (MAVO)—(GBL, Part I, No 31, p 368).
4. F. Engels, "Anti-Duehring," Berlin 1960, p 203.
5. Directive of the 10th SED Congress on the 5-Year Plan for the Development of the GDR Economy During 1981-1985, Berlin, 1981, p 17.
6. H.-J. Mader, "Legal Provisions for the Economic Safeguarding of National Defense," MILITAERWESEN, Sep 82, p 19.



GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

EFFECTIVENESS, FAILURES OF YOUTH INDOCTRINATION ANALYZED

Munich POLITISCHE STUDIEN in German Vol 34 No 269, May-Jun 83 pp 301-311

/Article by Dr Rudolf Sussmann, staff member, Bavarian Land Center for Political Education, Brienner Strasse 41, 8000 Munich 2: "Claim and Reality of Communist Youth Policy"/

/Text/ Several months ago the Bavarian Land Center for Political Education sponsored a trip to the GDR. In a concluding discussion the participants--teachers, adult education staff workers, parliamentary representatives and scientists--very quickly agreed on something that really should have been clear from the outset: even in the GDR German continues to be spoken. All other claims are either foolish or have only very superficial scientific validity. But (and this "but" permeated the observations of the entire trip) it is becoming increasingly difficult for Germans in the GDR and the FRG to understand one another because of the principles which in each case determine everyday life. The fact that FRG television programs can be viewed in the entire GDR with the exception of the Dresden area is by no means any guarantee that people know and understand the actual face of reality in the FRG. The reverse is also true. Today it is much easier than it was some years ago to acquire primary impressions about everyday life in the GDR itself. And yet the number of misunderstandings will increase. It soon becomes clear to every visitor, to the extent that he carefully follows the press and media in the GDR, that reports on disasters there have an entirely different value than in the FRG. This is far more true of social disasters, as for example the problem of unemployment among youth, than it is of natural disasters. The words of the German language on this side and that side sound the same and by and large have the same meaning, but in the linguistic reconstruction of social structures they have a different value. This is even true of such harmless words as art or sport. Thus, it is appropriate to review the concepts of the topic in respect to how far they have a very special meaning in the GDR which differs from language usage in the FRG.

Understanding Politics in the FRG and the GDR

We have become accustomed to understanding politics to mean regulating human behavior with the trend toward standardization, that is, generally binding control. This standardization, in line with a very widespread understanding of politics, is undertaken by the state. Naturally this very briefly outlined understanding of politics is not without objections, since it suggests that only

the state engages in politics, and that only in second place, if at all, and as a derivative of the state, is the capability to engage in politics accorded to social authorities. In contrast to this, there is the assertion (which in my opinion has not at all been well thought out in terms of its consequences) that ultimately every human activity is politics. But the general linguistic understanding in the FRG is very clearly inclined toward including only the state and its representatives in the various organs as the ones actually involved in politics.

The large conceptual field of politics is divided into individual sectors: domestic policy, foreign policy, economic policy and so on. There appear to be no natural limits on the divisibility of the conceptual field of politics. The area of classical domestic policy is subdivided into the areas of security policy, municipal policy, social policy, environmental policy and so on. But upon closer inspection the divisibility of the concept of politics does prove to be limited. To be sure, it is possible to speak of family policy, just as of school policy, but in the case of children's policy the tongue balks, just as it does in the case of father or mother policy; that is held to be abundantly absurd. Youth policy on the other hand is a prevalent concept. This subsector of politics enjoys a special place in our linguistic perception. Later on we shall attempt to answer the question of why this is true. The subsectors of the large conceptual field of politics are, of course, interconnected, yet the individual sectors also enjoy a certain independence. Those responsible in the sectors can even pursue different goals, even opposite goals. This must not be a sign of weakness but rather can likewise be a reflection of the pluralistic social order even in the leadership of the state and its administration. At least it can be interpreted this way.

The understanding of politics is different in the GDR. Politics is a special form of interaction between classes. In the communist understanding, the state is not an independent actor in politics, but rather an organ of the appropriate ruling class which with others is the object of politics. In a capitalist social order, as, for example, society in the FRG appears to be from the point of view of the GDR, the state is thus an organ of the bourgeoisie; in a socialist social order, for example society in the GDR, the state is in the hands of the working class or its avant-garde, the Party.

If we speak of politics and its actors in the FRG, it is always with the idea that in the last analysis it is not possible to find a rational basis for politics in all details. Our understanding of politics is also determined by the basic conviction that as a human activity it eludes exact planning and calculation. We are definitely prepared to allow political science, beyond analyzing the present and the past, to formulate probabilities, but not laws, comparable with natural laws in their ability to predict. But if politics is understood in the GDR as the interaction of classes, then this also includes in the understanding of the concept the fact that this interaction takes place according to scientifically identifiable laws. These laws of interaction between classes were explored and formulated by Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels and Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. But once these laws have been explored with adequate precision, then politics can no longer be understood as a play of forces; rather politics is then also involved in the orderly course of history.

But now the use of the German language in the GDR likewise recognizes the subdivision of the vast conceptual field of politics into individual fields such as domestic policy, foreign policy, educational policy, economic policy and the like. Even youth policy is a subsector of this large field of politics. In the FRG we were inclined to interpret the division of the political field into individual policy areas as a reflection of pluralistic society when we observed that the leading representatives of the individual political sectors are in a position to go completely different routes. To that extent we are justified in speaking of subsectors of politics. On the other hand, if, as in the GDR, politics is construed to be an event which occurs in an orderly way, then such politics is indivisible, because the laws which have been recognized and viewed as true cannot apply to one subsector of politics, less to a second and perhaps not at all to a third. Domestic policy, economic policy but also youth policy and--only noted in passing, but with special emphasis--naturally even church policy--are only aspects of the one kind of politics in which the state, as an organ of the working class in a socialist society, engages internally and externally. It is a deceptive conclusion to assume that an aspect of the politics of a socialist state, for example trade policy, youth policy or church policy, is "less socialist" than another aspect, for example domestic policy or defense policy. And yet, even in the GDR, a great deal of attention is devoted to youth and a great deal of state activity to supporting youth. Why actually? Why is youth of such interest to states with extremely diverse social orders?

#### The Rank of Youth Policy

Youth is an age. It is convenient to characterize it as that time in the personal biography of every human being which lies between two birthdays, between which several years have passed. But where do you start saying how many years are between the birthdays which define youth? Is it even possible to define youth so sharply? The name of the chairman of the GDR organization of school children, the Ernst Thaelmann Organization of Young Pioneers, is Helga Labs. She is 42 years old, thus no longer exactly of an age that in all politeness can be called youthful; Egon Krenz, as chairman of the FDJ, is at 46, likewise no longer the youngest. But he who utters a suppressed laugh does so too soon. The last two chairmen of the Bavarian association of youth organizations were well beyond their 40th birthdays when they resigned; many bezirk and kreis chairmen of associations of youth organizations and their executive board colleagues are likewise not substantially younger. Of course, in almost no respect is the FDJ comparable with an association of youth organizations or a youth association, but the fundamental problem remains: defining youth on the basis of age. No one can say with any certainty in his own case when he has passed over the boundary from childhood to youth, from youth to adulthood; how much less possible is this as a general statement. Both in the GDR and in the FRG full legal age starts with the completion of the 18th year. The GDR's Youth Law, however, establishes age 25 as the difference between youth and adulthood.<sup>1</sup>

Anthony Burgess, in his clever, critical essay about George Orwell's novel "1984" writes that youth is a kind of illness whose symptom is idealism.<sup>2</sup> If we make a more vivid copy of the outlines of this image, which was developed with poetic license, then there remains the idea of youth as a phase in human

development immediately prior to achieving adulthood; outwardly fully human but not yet finished, his entelechy not yet completed. Just as the patient often becomes aware of his illness later than his environment, youth too thinks it is already an adult, matured person but is not. This discrepancy is not clearly noticeable in the ability to render value judgments independently, that is, uninfluenced by others. But this is exactly what makes it possible to mislead youth. As a rule, children depend in their judgment on their parents. Young people can be influenced by adroit exploitation of the contrast with their parents. And they do not notice this foreign influence because they think they have made a judgment independently. Of course, when viewed that way, many people will never grow up.

In the GDR, youth policy is an aspect of indivisible socialist politics. This logical derivation from the ideological premises is confirmed in the GDR's Youth Law of 28 January 1974. There it states in the first sentence of the preamble: "In the GDR there is agreement between the goals and interests of society, the state and youth." It is the task of society and its organs to educate youth into becoming socialist personalities. Parents, the school and the FDJ, in addition to other institutionalized directors of recreational activities, accept this mandate to educate. But first let us take up the school as the key issue in this topic because--in terms of everything we know about the socialization of GDR youth--it, together with the home, carries the primary burden.

#### Education and Training

Education is to be understood as a special kind of social molding. Social molding is a process of interaction. The human being comes to terms with social phenomena in a theoretical-cognitive way or a practical-active way. Thus, he has an impact on these social manifestations just as they do on him. The Marxist concept of practice, according to which there is a dialectic unity between changing the environment and changing the human self, is the basis of this understanding of social molding and thus of education, too. Education is consciously planned social molding.<sup>3</sup> The process of education does not take place between two or several individuals but rather between the individual and the collective; the teacher acts as educator on behalf of the collective. Conscious planning of education is possible only on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, thus of laws which with predictive force make statements about the mechanics of the development of society. The educating teacher performs his work as a functionary of the working class. The Marxist educator understands education as the reproduction of the productive human resource which is essential in every society. The boundaries between education and training, which are familiar from the use of language, have become fluid in Marxist pedagogy. In the narrower sense, training aims at the cognitive learning areas of knowledge and ability, education on the other hand is aimed more at behavioral characteristics and the ability to make value judgments. However, the two concepts actually do not exist side by side at the same level; rather education is above training, and training is a special form of education, more strongly institutionalized than the latter. The goal of socialist education is to create universally developed socialist personalities. This comprehensive goal should be divided into three components for better understanding:



- a) transmitting scientific and technological knowledge and skill;
- b) transmitting work experiences in socialist production, associated with education in the socialist work ethic;
- c) education to develop the conscious class struggler and internationalist or shaper of socialist democracy.

### The Importance of Natural Sciences

In the GDR, among scientific findings it is primarily the findings of the natural sciences that are reported. If we take a look at the schedules we notice a clear preponderance of natural science-technological subjects in contrast with those in the humanities and even those in the social sciences. Of course, we must immediately impose the restriction that a clear separation of social science subjects from all others is not possible. In our case the social science principle of instruction is used only as an excuse because otherwise this sector of science comes off badly in instruction. This principle of instruction is realized in the GDR. The didactics of any subject of instruction are determined by the Marxist-Leninist basic understanding. According to it, there is only one unity of science; the natural sciences as well as the humanities and social sciences comprise the superstructure which, as is known, is defined by production conditions. This abstract derivation is reflected in concrete terms in the contents of instruction which more or less quietly support political agitation. Comparison of countries in a geography textbook are used for the purpose of depicting on the one hand the advantages of the socialist community of states but also on the other hand for pointing forcefully to the dangers which emanate from the politics of imperialist countries. But even a subject which is definable only by the laws of the natural sciences, such as astronomy, must make sure that it demonstrates the superiority of socialism (first sputnik!); the explanation of the difference between astronomy and astrology is a welcome opportunity to unmask the latter as a stupifying strategy used by the ruling class in the FRG for the purpose of a deceptive influence on gullible and superstitious people.

Yet the heavy preponderance of the natural sciences, including the technical sciences, will continue to be maintained in class schedules in GDR schools. The reasons for this lie in the economic situation of the GDR in the 1960s when the socialist education system and with it the school of today were developed. In addition, the natural sciences also derive this special importance from the ideological explanation, for they essentially determine production conditions which for their part in turn condition the social structure. Education in school, however, is dependent on the social structure, and thus the circle is again complete.

### Polytechnic Education

No doubt the most important characteristic of the GDR school, which is also expressed by its name, is polytechnic education. The concept has many layers. The most important feature is the unity of theoretical learning and practical action. The usability in production of what has been learned is a dimension of

this: in school garden instruction at the basic level, reference is made to surrounding agricultural production; a pair of tin snips illustrates in a striking way the productive application of the lever law. An additional aspect of polytechnic education is the effort to create a smooth transition between the theoretical segment of training in the school and practical activity. Every school child in the GDR spends at least 1 day every 2 weeks in socialist production. The ideological justification for polytechnic education stems from Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Engels<sup>4</sup> depicts even more clearly than Karl Marx how, in the historic process of the development of work as the most important factor in human existence, work was divided into theoretical-planning work and implementing work. Theoretical-planning work was viewed as superior to implementing-productive work. The ruling class claims for itself the theoretical-planning part of work, while implementation goes to the exploited class. The ruling class trains its youth in the ability for theoretical planning in order to guarantee control for itself while the children of the exploited classes are deprived of this training. In this way polytechnic education should make its contribution to the organization of socialism in which even the antagonistic oppositions among the ruling, theoretical-planning and exploited classes are abolished.

The most important goal of education is to mold youth into class strugglers and internationalists, for it is "an honor and class duty...for the working class to give socialist education to the maturing generation."<sup>5</sup> Important is the combination of the two concepts of class struggler and internationalist. The GDR is an integral part of the community of socialist states; the task of the school is to make school children aware of this integration and of the increasing threat from imperialist states. But the development of class strugglers in the absence of antagonistic contradictions in socialist society itself can only have the job of carrying the class struggle to the outside; this is the principle of the policy of peaceful coexistence between countries of diverse social orders. Without going into this principle in detail here, it should be pointed out that accordingly every social dispute is not only permitted but essential, but not militant disputes between countries. A prerequisite for this was and is the ability to protect socialism and to defend it militarily. The world revolution can only be pushed forward from this basis. The policy of peaceful coexistence, peace and calls for disarmament, the holding of peace conferences with the blessing of all churches on the one hand, being armed to the teeth, soldiers in every schoolbook and tanks as toys in the children's room, even the brutal suppression of the "swords into plowshares" church movement are not opposites, but rather the two sides of the same coin.

#### Educating to Hate

At this point reference must be made to a peculiarity of education in the GDR which is of special concern: educating to hate. Hate not only of abstract structures, but hate of men. Karl-Eduard von Schnitzler claimed in a children's program on GDR television, which was broadcast many years ago, that it was by no means wrong for the GDR to educate children and young people to hate, for hate and love are a dialectic unity. One must hate evil in order to be able to love the good. Everything evil is located in the imperialist FRG, everything good in the socialist GDR. This is actually presented in a simple way, which

is not surprising for hate always simplifies. However, hate for people is also taught. Politicians and businessmen from the FRG are castigated as the profiteers of the National Socialist concentration camps. Of course, even here at home in the dispute about the didactics of political training a kind of "basic outrage" is considered as an educational goal. In the meaning of a well-understood education in values it would in fact be irresponsible, aloof and matter-of-fact to report about the misery that people are able to cause people. But basic outrage is not the same thing as hate; it can be more easily kept in check through schooled rationality than irrational hate can be. Bruno Apitz's novel "Naked among Wolves," which depicts the final weeks in the Buchenwald concentration camp up to the point of its self-liberation, describes very forcefully the atrocities by the SS. This novel is required reading for all young people in the GDR. But these atrocities do not serve, in the Buchenwald memorial, to illustrate where a policy of hate in place of a policy of reason and compromise must lead; rather they serve to direct hate. Hate for fascism, which however is only the final sphere of imperialism. The FRG is an imperialist state; this suggests a short circuit. The children are brainwashed that they would not be going to visit grandma in Hamburg or an uncle in Munich, but rather the imperialist class enemy. But they cannot travel anyway.

Preaching hate is never without danger for those who preach. What if it is learned that the concentration camp, the site of the judges and hangmen on the Ettersberg above Weimar, again resumed its old function shortly after the Soviets invaded Thuringia. What if a young person, in spite of all assurance of unconcerned tolerance vis-a-vis the churches, must join in watching or even experience first hand how the "swords into plowshares" badge is ripped from his suit or is cut off by the People's Police with scissors? In view of the fancy textile prices in the GDR this is truly harsh punishment for establishing a group outside the groups sanctioned by the state. Every self-organization of groups outside these permitted groups is understood as opposition in the GDR. Opposition cannot exist within the system but only against the system; but that is dangerous to the existence of anyone who engages in such opposition.<sup>6</sup> Presumably this is the only way to understand the orderly withdrawal by the churches from this emergent opposition; out of their obligation to provide welfare services for their members.

#### The Task of the FDJ

The official youth organization and at the same time the only one with a comprehensive mandate is the FDJ. Together with other organizations, the Society for Sport and Technology in which the obligatory parliamentary training of young people is done, the German Gymnastics and Sport League and others, the FDJ tries to come and get the young people when they get out of school. This is true both in the sense of time, thus affecting the free time which the young people have outside school, and also in a biographic meaning, thus affecting the young worker or student. The FDJ continues the mandate to educate the working class outside school, but even within the school it guarantees itself a say, at least formally. The FDJ is more than a state youth like the ones that are also familiar to us in many developing countries. Together with the school and--of course, very far removed from any ability to control--with the home, the FDJ comprises a uniform educational front. It continues the party's educational mandate which has been formulated for the school and supplements it.<sup>7</sup>



The not yet fully developed ability of young people to make judgments is readily exploited in all dictatorships. In Nazi Germany as in socialist Germany, youth was and is covered with attention by the state, beyond what is appropriate. This also includes the fact that young people are given the impression of being full-value members of society in every respect. In the GDR young people (after their training) are given equal pay for equal work, although older workers perhaps need more in their situation in life and no doubt also do more, of course not in a measurable productive sense. The creation of so-called youth tasks, and thus the transfer of entire production jobs or segments of production, which are clearly separable from others, can likewise be seen in this connection, just as the institutionalized joint work by the FDJ in the planning and management of enterprises.

#### On the Effectiveness of Communist Youth Policy

At the outset we tried to outline more clearly the fundamental concepts of the topic in order to avoid the danger of not noticing the varying use of these concepts in the FRG and in the GDR. We did not bring in the adjective "communist" in these attempts at definition, but rather silently assumed that such a definition is not required. Yet, in conclusion, reference must still be made to several important differences. It is obvious that the existing pejorative use of this adjective in the FRG is not present in the GDR, on the contrary! Communists are fighters for progress, and thus they are from the outset good people. Society in the GDR, however, is not communist but socialist. If, however, in formulating the topic we speak of communist youth policy, then this can only mean that in considering the topic it is less the historical dimension than primarily the dimension of the future which in the GDR they like to call "perspective." The adjective communist also required placing in the forefront the ideal-typical method of observation with its ideological justifications. Naturally in all sectors reality in respect to ideology appears considerably more differentiated. It would be wrong if in this connection the impression that, for example, textbooks in the GDR might be overloaded with ideological ballast were strengthened; loaded they are, in any case. In the GDR schools, the demand for high education performance has the same priority as ideological demands. Unlike us, discipline is not accepted as a necessary evil but rather is affirmed as an indispensable component of the class struggle. The authority of the teacher and others having certain functions, even in the FDJ, is constantly underscored; antiauthoritarian education is rejected as reactionary. The previously mentioned uniform socialist educational front of home, school and institutionalized management of recreational time is, of course, not effective to the desired degree. The class consciousness of young people is not internalized but rather is acquired as an external attitude and knowledge which can be questioned.<sup>8</sup> But the most dangerous thing for the system can be the effect of the hate which has been instilled if it is used against its own system. Rather, instead of the hate which has been preached, the young people seek love and security, which they do not find in the structures provided.

The GDR tries to control the religious needs of youth. By their terminology youth and worker initiation ceremonies can be recognized as a substitute for confirmation. The National Socialists tried to direct religious energy into

their paths. Hitler's practice of descending from heaven as a "savior" on the occasion of elections prior to seizing power (he was the first one who recognized the propaganda possibilities of the airplane) or the customs of constantly celebrating every year at central locations ceremonial acts for the history of the movement, as in the liturgy of the Roman Catholic church, are clear examples of this.<sup>9</sup> This is also being tried in the GDR. Constant looking to the future, the reference to the "future," is the attempt to guide the religious energy to Bloch's category of that which does not yet exist and to transform it into revolutionary energy, even if Ernst Bloch is ostracized in the GDR. Yet this attempt fails. The number of young people wishing to be baptized is increasing. Banning the church from the street, most recently with the fight against the church's peace movement, fills the churches. The religious needs cannot be suppressed. At least not permanently.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Law concerning the involvement of youth in shaping the developed socialist society and about its general support in the GDR--GDR Youth Law, 28 January 1974, Art 57, Sec 1.
2. Anthony Burgess, 1985, Munich, 1982, p 101.
3. Compare Karl Marx' "Thesis on Feuerbach": "The materialistic doctrine that people are products of circumstances and education, and thus that changed people are products of different circumstances and education, ignores the fact that the circumstances are in fact changed by the people and that the educator himself must be educated. Thus, there is the necessity of separating society into two parts, one of which is above society (in Robert Owen, for example).

The coalescence of the change in circumstances and of human activity can only be understood calmly and rationally as a revolutionary practice."

4. Friedrich Engels, "Role of Work in the Anthropogenesis of the Ape": "Through the interaction of hand, organs of speech and brain not only in the case of each individual but also in society, people became able to carry out increasingly more complex duties, to set and achieve increasingly higher goals. From generation to generation work itself became different, more perfect, more diverse. Hunting and cattle breeding were joined by agriculture, this in turn by spinning and weaving, metal processing, pottery, shipping. Art and science joined trade and industry, nations and states developed from tribes. Law and politics developed and with them the fantastic reflection of human things in the human mind: religion. In the face of all these structures, which to begin with are represented as products of the mind and which appeared to dominate human societies, the more modest products of the laboring hand receded; indeed, all the more so when the mind that plans the work was able to have the planned work done by hands other than its own at a very early level of development of society (for example, in the simple family). All merit in rapidly progressing civilization was attributed to the mind, to the development and activity of the brain; people became accustomed

to clarifying their actions from their thinking instead of from their needs (which of course are reflected in the mind and are revived in the consciousness)--and thus there developed that idealist worldview which, as is known, has dominated the minds since the decline of the ancient world.... All higher forms of production, however, have moved forward to separate people into different classes and thus to establish a contrast between ruling and oppressed classes; but with that the interest of the ruling class became the driving element of production to the extent that this was not limited to the most basic subsistence of the oppressed."

5. Youth Law, Art 2, Sec 2; see also Art 5, Sec 1.
6. Compare Wolfgang Buescher and others (editors), "Peace Movement in the GDR. Texts 1978 to 1982," Hattingen, 1982.
7. In this connection Karl Schmitt, "On the Effectiveness of Political Education in the GDR," in POLITIK UND ZEITGESCHICHTE, supplement to the weekly newspaper DAS PARLAMENT, No 23, 1978.
8. Karl Schmitt, op. cit.
9. Otto B. Roegele, "A New Dimension of Propaganda," in Otto B. Roegele and others, "How Could It Come to That. Background of the National Socialist Seizure of Power," Munich, 1981, pp 13 and 21.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

WRITER'S LETTER TO JAILED SON, APPEAL FOR DISSIDENT PRESENTED

Letter to Jailed Son

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 10 May 83 'Feuilleton'  
supplement p 13

[Text of letter, datelined Leipzig 1983, by writer Gert Neumann, winner of Berlin Art Prize for Literature, to his son Aram Neumann, dissident, in GDR jail since September 1982: "Letter to One in Jail"]

[Text] Gert Neumann was born in 1942 and is today living in Leipzig, GDR: Frank Wagner was born in 1962 and, because of his poems and his refusal to accept the rules of a senile establishment, is today living in prison. His friend Aram, the oldest son of Gert Neumann, is also living in prison; for the past several weeks his friend Ralf Zimmerling has been hidden from the police by friends. For their part, the police want to capture him so as to lock him up in a work camp. Ralf Zimmerling could be saved from this fate if he could prove that he had a job. But even the church in Leipzig refuses its solidarity: in the event of his arrest Ralf intends to leave the GDR. The theme is not peace but war: war against ossification--in resignation, career, lies, hopelessness. Gert Neumann has published two books in the West ("The Guilt of Words" in 1979 and "Eleven O'Clock" in 1981); in 1982 he received the Berlin Art Prize for Literature. He is the only writer in the GDR that I know of in whose thinking there dwells a utopia: the "Magus from the East." Frank Wagner: "Phuture"--"Our of lies they have built us a future. Out of lies they have built us schools, schools in which we learned how to stand up for our future."  
Frank-Wolf Matthies.

Dear A: I want to write to you today...in as much as I have been dealing with the progress of your case for a long and ugly period--a case about which I knew and about which I know that it is not your case alone and should not be your case alone.

Perhpas I should have written you long before now; but it is, of course, known that it is really impossible for a letter such as this...which was intended to be, actually to reach someone who finds himself under "investigative arrest" by the "organs" which fancy themselves justified in taking such a measure.

Meanwhile, after a long waiting period--you were, after all, taken into custody in September!--I have received two different reports on the sentence which was meted out to you. At first we lived for 2 days with the report that you were given 3 years in prison until the second report brought us the news that you were sentenced to 1 year and 3 months. We are, of course, completely uncertain as to the basis for the charge--it is buried in a very vague text which widely differing sources managed to produce--and, as it also sometimes seemed, wanted to produce. These sources are your interrogators: the prosecutor, the investigating and confiscating organs, the lawyer A whom your friends engaged to help you, janitors and, finally, the meager items of information which come from the clever questions asked of those interrogated in your case, that is, against their will. Your case was announced as a public proceeding--which, in the end, could not be confirmed; in any event, when your friends appeared at the appointed time it was annouced that your case was postponed and later it was tried with the public excluded.

Your mother, in answer to her question addressed to the prosecutor to whom she actually forced her way and to whom she could force her way, in answer to her question as to why the announced proceedings in your case were postponed, was told that technical reasons had made this necessary; and in reply to her second question as to when the proceedings would take place she was given the answer that the prosecutor's office was not obliged to provide this information since you are already of age and therefore alone responsible for yourself. This information was relayed to your friends by your mother. I too waited out in the street with them in front of the courthouse because admission was denied us. We parted with important knowledge concerning the quality of the thinking of the "organs" which had taken charge of your case. We learned two things for use. The first was that an announcement had been made that the proceedings would be public. (The reasons for that suggest that the number of friends who are standing by you were counted--not that there is any intention of holding public trials, don't you think?) We learned this because the proceedings had been referred to as postponed. We learned, secondly, that the complaint against you is probably a farce (of which our instinct had already convinced us since the model for your offense shimmered in a rather well-known manner) for the purpose of achieving certain goals, that is, for the purpose of arousing fear among your friends whose power to think for themselves is ignored. This is evidenced by the brutally and artificially contrived text which explains to them the events leading to your arrest, etc., and which, because of a certain love of life, lets them believe in a justified charge against you rather than that the "organs" in charge of your case deliberately circulate lies and disinformation and create a truth; for that is an experience for which one might get off with 20 years. It is so contrary to nature that it makes any free social life impossible. In any case, under these conditions, democracy as the scene of social thought is completely out of the question. Thought is thus blackmailed--the possibility that "there must be some truth in the charges" is the only alternative to chaos. And thus subordination is born. For it is pleasanter to choose the second alternative isn't it?



And it even gives the impression that one is getting the truth since those "organs" which are using the raw materials for a truth also chose the second alternative. The only thing is, unfortunately, that is a mistake--we are falling among a "community of rascals" for whom the laws prevail which belong to them and that is the end of belief in future beauties of the mind because the mind no longer exists but...believes when it is forced to deal with something materially (say: concrete, Berlin, Alexanderplatz, Gruena, etc.)

This reproach of the "organs" who have your case in their hands, would not have to be brought up if the simple proceedings which might be made necessary by the alleged offense, that is, the quarrel with the prominent media person A and his wife in the park, at night, were to take place publicly and not in secret under circumstances so charged with meaning.

I am virtually certain that you too expected your proceedings to take place on the appointed day and I am further virtually certain that they also told you that they had been postponed (which prolongs your uncertainty) since, according to the date at the top, you had written a letter just a few days before which was stamped on the inside by the authorities one day before the day of the proceedings and was dated by the post office on the day of the announced proceedings and was received by your mother one day after the meanwhile postponed proceedings. In this letter, without mentioning the day of the proceedings, you ask that your friends not attend the proceedings since you fear a "manifestation" which could somehow add to your "troubles."

Dear A, it is senseless to lose oneself in details no matter how interesting the task of searching for the simple truth in such seemingly simple matters may seem. But it has been shown that in your case as well as in many others it is apparently not a question of the truth. And it has been shown that the questions of law, also in your case, have been nationalized--behind closed doors, of course, and to the exclusion of the public which is left to play the primitive and confusing game of contrived information and information which emerged quite by chance out of contempt for mankind and sloppiness. We know what kind of blossoms the imagination can sprout when the public is shut out--at a certain point the authorities will decide that it is paranoia; or this public will decide that for itself. A man of experience who does not live in the GDR and is therefore not infected by the happenings referred to here, once told me that, as a matter of principle, he does not trust any news which he receives from the GDR. That gave me extraordinary food for thought--the consequence is that we shall be regarded with pity in our GDR ghetto if we do not discipline our love for truth...excluded from the process of truth which really has philosophical dimensions. I myself selected the example that your letter brings from the investigation prison (which, moreover, was described by your mother who had spoken to you in the "speaker" a few days earlier as a completely incomprehensible letter to her) only so as to be able to clarify the structure of the thinking that wants so badly to dominate. I am accordingly, also almost certain that the "organs" have made the attendance of your friends on the day designated for proceedings responsible for their postponement and perhaps even for the materialization of your sentence--since, in your eyes, they did in fact appear even though you had asked them not to appear, about which they could know nothing at all...etc. And you have been sentenced because of a vague "ringleadership"--if we can rely on our news reports.

There's just one disgusting thing that remains behind if one observes the total image which the "organs" have created in the present in your case. Its meaning brings only destruction and creates hatred. I know that certain people in responsible positions in the GDR are interested in the materialization of hatred since they, in their sentimental mania, imagine themselves obliged to fight against an enemy. If they don't have an enemy their thinking doesn't function--we learned that long ago from Boris Pasternak. The only thing is that this enemy is always life and bears the name people, a people which is endlessly obliged to content itself with stupidity so as to keep its distance from hatred which blocks the sight of freedom. Thus, those who are in power do not know freedom--that we know. And much of the seemingly incomprehensible is simply to be explained in the fact that it happens because of the pathological jealousy of the knowledge of freedom with resistance generates. There is much an unending number of statements and biographies in history which talk about it--but the same struggle with its special cynicism in real socialism is always being carried on in that present in which we are living (PM12 [expansion unknown], job commitment, Berlin prohibition, unemployment...)

As you know, dear A, I have decided not to despair. I would like to resist hatred--I regard that as a possible form of resistance. But I am definitely in a position to grasp an inner need which is resolved to defend itself. Those are physiological conditions in the affected bodies...and no judgment can touch them. I myself was sick a while ago and came to know what it means to be exhausted for the first time. Perhaps the "organs" regard such physiological events which they know how to bring about as a success? But that is their affair for, inevitably, at a certain hour in their lives they are alone with their conscience. I can only ask you, dear A, to bear your time in prison with dignity. Even though I don't know what I am talking about I hope that, for my part, I would try to do the same in the same situation. This is the only form of resistance that I know. It is the only thing I can, therefore, recommend. I think it is appropriate to defend the dignity of freedom in every single body so as to be able to create a thinking process which doesn't need to go into a clinch with the static thinking that wants to dominate--in which its development would be ended by the predominating question of power without the static thinking ever having had any news of its existence, right? I am, calmly, convinced that this destruction is nevertheless the real goal of the, in my eyes, contrived encounter which you must now undergo. And, for me it is almost a matter of indifference to find out whether you raised your hand against the prominent GDR media personality... (The "assault with intent to rob" which was combined with it in the beginning, was set aside, as the rumors whisper it to us, solely because the wallets which looked alike were confused!) It was immaterial to me for the reason that two lines in our society have met which were in any case on a collision course because of their common determinants and would, sooner or later, have had to meet even though perhaps in other persons. This...eventual meeting was used by the "organs" for the sake of demonstrating power, brutality in association with the symbol for truth and scorn for the young. We know that and have been living with the moral quality of this "organ" for a long time and the relationship is growing unless one wants to surrender to the illusion that there might perhaps be responsible thinking persons among them.

It is only to be hoped that a quarrel can be avoided through our patience and through our alertness. I beg you, dear A to live in prison in this sense. Use the opportunity to accumulate friends there and to convince them of the need for this resistance which is, perhaps, called a tactic in your eyes. We are a community of suffering and no "community of rascals." Only those who are with us in solidarity can keep a language alive under these circumstances... which, of course, has existed for a long time and whose guardians are necessarily mute and counteract the scorn for humanity and the hatred. The people in charge cannot prohibit this language since it is not a material thing. That, dear A, is the gigantic material that the "organs" have scornfully left to us because they do not know what to do about it. Isn't that grounds for joy?

Be that all as it may...enough sounding off or however you say it these days. I heard that you wanted to leave the GDR. I will pass this wish along when I have a chance. You know what the realities are in the GDR and only the "organs" are to be held responsible for the duration of the processing of such a wish. If this wish is not fulfilled we must not suffocate from fainting like so many people in the GDR. As you know I do not wish to leave the GDR with my family--the reasons, at least after this letter, are clear to you--but I can understand your wish and respect it. After your most recent experiences I too see hardly any remaining possibility for you to find a life for yourself in the GDR in the sense of freedom and beauty of the mind which you hope for in your life.... You have little to do with this result. You have enjoyed the perfect, polytechnical education in the GDR. Indeed the cause lies therein.

I wish you strength and health to resist. I therefore send you heartfelt greetings.

#### Appeal for Dissident Wagner

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 10 May 83 'Feuilleton' supplement p 13

[Text] Frank Wagner, born in Luebbenau in 1962, sentenced 30 December 1982 to 1 year 3 months of prison after 4 months of investigation, is now in 3250 Stassfurt P 99500.

Frank Wagner is in poor condition; he wants to leave the GDR. His story is long and typical of the hostility toward the youth in the GDR today. His arrest and later sentencing were quite apparently undertaken for the purpose of injecting fear into a large group of opposition-minded young people in Leipzig. This group has close ties to the Lutheran church of Leipzig which abides, however, by the official explanation for Frank Wagner's arrest, i.e., rowdiness. Frank Wagner was found guilty of "ringleadership." Frank Wagner writes prose and poetry and published the poem "Future" in the "Wanderbuehne" No 4.

During his detention for investigation Frank Wagner made seven applications for permission to emigrate and expresses this apparently urgent wish at every so-called "speaker."

I ask for help.

MARCH-APRIL 1983 DOUBLE ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 Mar 83 p 4

[Brigitte Hering review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 38, No 3/4, March-April 1983, signed to press 18 February 1983, pp 225-416: "His Ideas Live in Our Deeds." Translations and/or summaries of articles by authors cited below and by others are published in pages following this review]

[Text] "The teachings of Karl Marx--worked out by him in collaboration with Engels, defended and further developed by Lenin, creatively enriched in the revolutionary movements of our days and in the work of Communist and workers parties--have scored incomparable victories." This is stated by Kurt Hager in EINHEIT's lead article under the headline, "Karl Marx--Our Contemporary."

The double issue of EINHEIT is dedicated to the 100th anniversary of Karl Marx' death. Within 411 pages [i.e., pp 227-411], 25 authors provide insight into today's application and further development of Marx' teachings.

By the example of the creation and growth of the GDR, Horst Dohls demonstrated that the workers class can accomplish its historic mission only when led by a Marxist-Leninist militant party pursuing clear aims. In this concept he points out: "The implementation of this universally valid natural law, the central question of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism, is and continues to be the guideline for the SED's actions, and no one will ever succeed in diverting it from this course."

The concrete application of Karl Marx' economic doctrine in our party's economic strategy is discussed by Guenter Mittag. This scientifically based strategy, he emphasizes, is "an expression of the strength of socialism to react militantly and successfully to the new, changed fighting conditions of the 1980's."

Paul Verner explains the relevance of Marx' doctrine of the state. Taking issue with anticommunist slander he proves the historic superiority of socialist democracy "which is based on the alliance of all classes and strata in the socialist society under the leadership of the workers class and its party, and which is aimed at implementing economic and social progress."



A question that runs through nearly all contributions of the journal is the preservation and safeguarding of world peace. Specifically, it is discussed by Guenter Sieber in reviewing the foreign policy of the countries of the socialist community, and by Klaus Gaebler who discusses the question as an integral part of the historic mission of the workers class. Finally, Harald Neubert points out the great importance of proletarian internationalism for the defense of world peace.

The fact that the work of Karl Marx lives on in our days is clearly indicated also by the articles about fundamental questions of the developed socialist society. Thus Otto Reinhold writes about the stimulating effect of the socialist performance principle; Helmut Kozioliek about the economic cycle in the intensification process; Claus Kroemke about successes and tasks in raising labor productivity; and Siegfried Lorenz about the evolution of the industrial workers' town of Chemnitz into Karl-Marx-Stadt.

A number of other articles deals with the personality of Karl Marx. Heinrich Gemkow draws an excellent portrait of the personality of Karl Marx the man, who to a large extent has set the standards for the revolutionary conduct in today's class struggle. These class standards are the subject of the subsequent contribution by Guenter Schneider. In this context there are also articles about Marx' education ideal by Gerhart Neuner, and about "Marx' understanding of Goethe" by Wolfgang Heise.

The Marx issue is completed by ideas about materialist dialectics [by Wolfgang Eichhorn I]; about socialist literature and arts [by Hans Koch]; and about Marx-Engels research [by Guenter Heyden].

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SED POLITBURO'S HAGER CAUTIONS AGAINST IDEALIZING MARXISM

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 38 No 3/4, Mar-Apr 83 (signed to press 18 Feb 83) pp 227-232

[Lead article by Kurt Hager, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary for culture and science: "Karl Marx--Our Contemporary." For various references to related information see translation of an East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND article published under the heading, "SED Stresses 'Creative Application' of Marxist Theory," in JPRS 82606, 10 Jan 83, No 2092 of this series, pp 3-10]

[Text] Since the appearance of the Communist Manifesto the scientific working class world-outlook, despite all ill-will toward it, has entered an incomparable march of triumph. By pioneering insights of Marx, such as the discovery of the developmental law of human history, of the surplus value and of the historic mission of the workers class, the article demonstrates the relevance of his doctrine having gained insurmountable strength precisely by its combining strict scientific objectivity with revolutionary determination. We are fulfilling Marx' legacy by our deeds.

On 1 May 1890 Friedrich Engels completed the preface to the fourth German edition of the birth certificate of scientific socialism, the Communist Manifesto, saying: "If only Marx stood by my side to see this with his own eyes!"<sup>1</sup> Engels had portrayed how since the appearance of the Manifesto on the eve of the 1848 Revolution and since the founding of the International Workers Association--the First International--in 1864, the workers movement, under the slogan "Proletarians of all countries, unite!" had developed under one flag and for one next goal.

If only Marx stood by our side to see with his own eyes how the scientific working class world-outlook and revolutionary movement he established have caught on today on all continents; how that, in the 1917 October Revolution led the workers and peasants to victory under the leadership by Lenin's party; how it is confirmed by the realization of socialism in many countries on the earth; how it serves as the guideline for the struggle of the communist and workers parties all over the world; how it spurs the progressive forces in

the young national states in Africa toward forming parties that are determined to lend the development of their country a socialist orientation; how it entered the intellectual and cultural life of our age to become a subject of fierce ideological conflict; and how its enemies, blinded by hatred, have adopted the task to throw Marxism-Leninism "on the ash heap of history" (Reagan before the British House of Commons, 8 June 1982).

And how much Marx would enjoy it to be able to see that even in the country the reactionary conditions of which he fought against to the end of his life, without ever losing his love for that country, a change has taken place and in a part of Germany, the GDR, his work is alive and his ideas are being brought to realization!

Indeed, the teachings of Karl Marx, worked out by him in collaboration with Engels, defended and further developed by Lenin, creatively enriched in the revolutionary movements of our days and in the work of Communist and workers parties, have scored incomparable victories.

#### Struggle Was His Element

The theses for the Karl Marx Year 1983, which the SED Central Committee decided to publish at its fifth session in December 1982, pay tribute to the work of the greatest son of the German people and the founder of scientific socialism, the working class world-outlook and its revolutionary party. We honor the scientist and revolutionary who with passion and all his strength dedicated himself to the struggle for the liberation of the workers class and all other working people from capitalist exploitation and suppression and paved the way for socialism and communism. We honor the man who through decades of bitter poverty, which he could only survive through Friedrich Engels' helpfulness and intimate friendship, completed his great work. In spite of his strenuous work, Marx always found time for his family and gained strength from his love for his wife and children and from working together with his fellow-combatants. He had a sense of humor and was implacable if that had to be. He loved good literature and art and debate, and he had human weaknesses. In short: he was a complete human being.

To Marx, science, as Engels remarked in Karl Marx' funeral oration on 17 March 1883, was a revolutionary force that moves history. "Much as he could enjoy a new discovery in any theoretical science the practical application of which might still have been unforeseeable, he sensed an entirely different sort of joy when it came to a discovery which at once had a revolutionary impact on industry and on historic development as such."<sup>2</sup> That commentary anticipates our party demand to utilize research data fast for increasing our labor productivity and improving our economic efficiency.

Yet we are not only talking of the revolutionary changes science--the natural and technical sciences--brought to industry and the productive forces, but of the impact on historical development as such. And here the most propelling and revolutionary force without doubt is scientific socialism, which forms the basis for the strategy and tactics of the Communist and workers parties and guides the working people's struggle for peace and socialism.

Without combining science with revolutionary action, Marxism-Leninism would be a torso, an empty shell. Precisely through combining strict scientific objectivity with revolutionary determination, Marx' doctrine assumed its invincible strength. "For Marx was mainly a revolutionary," Engels said in his funeral oration. "To take part in one way or another in overthrowing the capitalist society and the governmental institutions it had created, to take part in the liberation of the modern proletariat--that was his true vocation. Struggle was his element. And he struggled with a passion, a tenacity, and a success as few others."<sup>3</sup>

If Marxism now had been just some philosophy, some sociological theory or economic doctrine, it probably would have suffered the same fate as so many other theories and would have become obsolete, a historic relic. Yet it is alive and kicking because it is a call for struggle for the lofty goals of mankind, for the liberation of man from exploitation and suppression, for a happy life and enjoyable future for the working people. Because the communists let themselves be guided by this revolutionary doctrine, without abandoning it even under the toughest conditions, they have won in so many countries. Marxism-Leninism has had the greatest share in the development of the revolutionary world process into a mighty current of the social and national liberation forces, of socialism and the class struggle, in the capitalist countries and the national liberation movement.

#### The Developmental Law of Human History

Marx's doctrine is not a secluded dreamer's or bookworm's fancy. Having quit, and smashed, his Young Hegelian friends' idealistic castles in the air and surmounted Feuerbach's materialism with its cult of abstract man, Marx turned to the exploration of the real conditions of human life, of the objective inevitabilities of history and society. What were the results of his longtime, conscientious and thorough research? Listen again to Engels. In his funeral oration Engels said: "As Darwin discovered the laws for the development of organic nature, Marx discovered the developmental law of human history: the simple fact hidden up to then by ideological excrescences that men primarily must first eat, drink, live somewhere and dress themselves before they can engage in politics, science, art, religion and so forth."<sup>4</sup>

That seems simple and obvious enough. Yet prior to Marx historiographers and social scientists had only paid attention to the role of ideas--constantly different ideas at all that, such as the "absolute idea," the "world spirit," or "self-awareness," and so forth--or to the work of great personalities, but not to such profane things as eating and drinking, not to the mode of production of material goods.

It followed from Marx' "simple" insight "that the production of the material provisions directly then, and thus any given economic developmental level of a people or of an age, forms the basis out of which the government institutions, the legal concepts, art and even the religious ideas of the people concerned have developed and therefore also must be explained thereby--not, as previously, the other way around."<sup>5</sup>

That provided a sure scientific foundation for understanding historic and social events. Materialism was extended and applied to society--the social essence determines social consciousness--and the idea of evolution was viably introduced into historical and social sciences. Explaining political, legal, artistic and other ideas out of the material conditions of society does of course not mean they play no role in social development, but what mattered first and foremost was to discover their origin. Marx and his comrades-in-arms, while exploring concrete historic events, kept returning to that time and time again, as also to the role of personalities in history, and this they did without slighting the importance of these forms of consciousness or the role of the subjective factor in history and society.

We must always remember that the discovery of the evolutionary law of human history provides only a guideline for understanding certain historical events but no open sesame, no key that unlocks all gates. That discovery does not substitute for a thorough study of the extremely complicated and complex historic and social interconnections--such as the causes for the seizure of power by Hitler fascism in 1933, for World War II, or for the present U.S. policy--to mention but a few examples.

#### A Time Bomb for Capitalist Society

Engels continued his tribute to Marx' work as follows: "And that is not all. Marx also discovered the special law under which today's capitalist mode of production and the bourgeois society produced by it move. The discovery of the surplus value suddenly made the light go on whereas all previous investigations, both by bourgeois economists and socialist critics, had gone astray in the dark."<sup>6</sup>

The capitalist mode of production was already fully in place in England and France in the 1840's and took on speed in Germany as well. The class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat was in full swing. That was demonstrated by the uprisings of the silk spinners in Lyon in 1831 and 1834, the mighty proletarian mass movement of Chartism in England, which climaxed in 1842, and the revolt of the Silesian-Bohemian weavers in 1844, but also by the various theories and experiments undertaken by petty bourgeois and utopian socialism with which Marx took critical issue. From 1844 to his death, uncovering the secrets of capitalist exploitation and of the nature of the capitalist mode of production remains the main theme of his scientific investigations. They culminated in the realization that capitalism--the rule of the exploiters who own all means of production and therefore force the unpropertied wage earners to sell their labor in order to survive--is not, as the bourgeois economists from Smith to Ricardo had claimed, an unchangeable social order naturally given, but a perishable and historically conditioned one, inevitably condemned to perish, "no solid crystal but a changeable organism constantly in the process of transformation."<sup>7</sup>

The discovery of the surplus value was a time bomb for capitalist society because it explained to generations of workers why they were at the mercy of the entrepreneurs, always urged to produce more, but in times of crisis unmercifully thrown into the street and surrendered to misery, hunger and homelessness, as is presently the case in the United States and the EC states with their more than 30 million unemployed.



Yet Marx recognized very early (see "The Holy Family") that the workers class not only is a suffering, suppressed class but also that its condition forces it to unite and struggle for its social and political rights. In this regard also, history has confirmed Marx fully and completely. Those who were afraid of this struggle--from the entrepreneurs associations to the trade union top leadership--sure enough managed time and time again to cause confusion in the workers class by talking about a "social partnership," "social peace," "codetermination" and "people's capitalism." Yet such maneuvers have less and less success. Although during the current capitalist economic crisis the workers are being blackmailed with the threat of being fired and often keep still for fear of losing their jobs, strikes and mighty struggle campaigns break out time and time again through which the working people defend their vital rights and champion the enforcing of their social and political demands.

Of course, especially the criticism of the capitalist mode of production has roused all the apologists of that society. Initially they had used against Marx' work the tactics of hushing it up. When that no longer worked, they resorted to a different method. They would claim Marx' political economy was inherently contradictory and thus scientifically untenable. The U.S. economist Keynes called Marxism an "obsolete scientific textbook" though he had to admit he was not "much of an expert in Marxism."<sup>8</sup>

It is striking, however, that up to now bourgeois economists have not even tried to refute Marx' surplus value theory but rather beat about the bush when it comes to this centerpiece of Marx' critique of the capitalist mode of production. For they would have to refute the fact already observed in the Communist Manifesto: "In proportion as the bourgeoisie, i.e., capital, is developed, in the same proportion is the proletariat, the modern working class, developed, as a class of laborers who live only so long as they find work, and who find work only so long as their labor increases capital."<sup>9</sup>

Yet the Communist Manifesto also says: "The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeoisie, replaces the isolation of the laborers, due to competition, by their revolutionary combination, due to association. The development of modern industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie produces, above all, are its own grave diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable."<sup>10</sup>

#### His Work Lives in Our Deeds

Marx scientifically established the historic mission of the workers class of being the grave digger of capitalism and the creator of socialist society. History has proved him right. The world has fundamentally changed since the October Revolution. In many countries on the earth the workers class has triumphed and, in alliance with the other working people, established its political power. A new society is being built.

No surprise that the enemies of socialism and of social progress as such do what they can to turn back the wheel of history. To destroy socialism, they openly seek military superiority over the Soviet Union and the socialist community. They do not even shrink from making preparations for nuclear world war.



That is the basic line of the on-going arms buildup and confrontation policy of the United States and NATO, which is dictated by the most aggressive imperialist circles. But they will never be able to reach their goal.

There is no more important task today than to secure peace and spare mankind the danger of a nuclear world conflagration.

In their Prague Declaration of 5 January 1983, the Warsaw Pact member states have called for broad international cooperation on behalf of preserving our civilization and life on earth. They have called for speeding up significantly the on-going negotiations about halting the arms race and for seeking agreements that would ensure the reduction and elimination of the weapons, especially the nuclear weapons. They have proposed the concluding of a treaty between the Warsaw Pact and NATO on a reciprocal non-use of military force and the maintenance of peaceful relations and other propositions to safeguard peace.

The Soviet Union, the GDR and the other Warsaw Pact states have documented to the whole world by the Prague Declaration that socialism and peace are one and the same. They have announced their readiness for dialogue and cooperation with all who seek the high goal of consolidating peace and of maintaining and deepening international detente.

This peace policy in every way conforms with the ideas Karl Marx expressed in October 1864 in his inaugural address to the First International, that what mattered was "to bring into force as the supreme laws for the traffic between nations the simple laws of morality and law that ought to regulate the relations among private persons. The struggle for such foreign policy is an integral part of the general struggle for the emancipation of the workers class."<sup>11</sup>

The peace proposals of the Prague Declaration have met with worldwide response. While the leadership in the United States and other NATO states is twisting and turning, large sections of the peace movement in Western Europe and the United States agree with these proposals. The peace movement has become an influential political factor the imperialist politicians have to take into account.

The GDR, one of the signors of the Prague Declaration, makes a great and remarkable contribution, through its own constructive peace policy, to safeguarding peace in Europe and in the world and to the cooperation of states with differing social systems. That is only possible because in the GDR decisive conclusions were drawn from the imperialist German past, especially from the fascist era. Under SED leadership and thanks to the unselfish aid and support from the Soviet Union, the premises for imperialist aggressiveness and war policy were eradicated for good. That also did away with the exploitation of man by man.

Not by coincidence have the GDR working people, upon the resolution from the fifth Central Committee session, declared 1983 as the Karl Marx Year and are responding by many new commitments in socialist competition, initiatives and creative achievements. There is no better way to honor Karl Marx than further

consolidating this state which brings his work to realization on German soil and thereby helps secure the peace. What could be a higher tribute to Marx than making it possible for man to be a man by shaping the socialist society which, through its peaceful character and a policy aimed at the well-being of the people, as well as its social and cultural accomplishments, does that?

By implementing the 10th party congress policy, the GDR communists fulfil their obligation to their own people and their responsibility to the whole international revolutionary movement and to all peace-loving and progressive people in the world. This way we fulfil the legacy of the founder of our scientific world-outlook; this way Marx lives in our deeds and is our contemporary.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Friedrich Engels, "Preface to the Fourth German Edition (1890) of the 'Communist Manifesto,'" Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 22, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1963, p 59.
2. Friedrich Engels, "The Funeral of Karl Marx," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 19, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 336.
- e. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p 335.
5. Ibid., pp 335-336.
6. Ibid., p 336.
7. Karl Marx, "Capital," Vol I, Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 23, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 16.
8. Quoted from "Folgen einer Theorie, Essays ueber 'Das Kapital' von Karl Marx" (Consequences of a Theory—Essays on "Capital" by Karl Marx), Suhrkamp edition, pp 16-17.
9. "Communist Manifesto," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 4, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 468.
10. Ibid., p 474.
11. Karl Marx, "Inaugural Address for the International Workers Association," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 16, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 13.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SED POLITBURO'S DOHLUS ATTACKS 'PLURALIST FRAGMENTATION' ATTEMPTS

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 49, 30 Mar 83 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "SED Defends Its Claim to Leadership." A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] Central Committee secretary Horst Dohlus has defended the SED's absolute leadership claim against critics. The SED had not "arrogated" that claim, he wrote in the theoretical party journal EINHEIT (No 3/4, 1983). What was correct instead and was long proven was "that the workers class can fulfil its world historic role as the creator of socialist society only when led by a revolutionary party." Dohlus in this context called it an "illusion" to believe socialism could be established without the leading role of the "Marxist-Leninist militant party." Confronting attempts, allegedly coming from the West, at undermining the SED's leadership role, the Central Committee secretary affirmed the growing importance of the "party's ideological unity and organizational cohesion."

SED Party Organs Chief's Polemic

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 38 No 3/4, Mar-Apr 83 (signed to press 18 Feb 83) pp 234-241

[Article by Horst Dohlus, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary for party organs: "The Marxist-Leninist Party—Nucleus of Socialism's Political Organization." A translation of the "SED Central Committee Theses on the 1983 Karl Marx Year," cited in footnote 1, is published in JPRS 38129, 24 Mar 83, No 2121 of this series, pp 10-29. For related information see translations published under quoted headings in the following JPRS issues of this series: "Sociologists Urged to Guard Against Concepts 'Free of Ideology,'" 82114, 29 Oct 82, No 2069, pp 18-31; "'Pluralistic Democracy,' Other 'Bourgeois Socialism Concepts' Attacked," 81989, 15 Oct 82, No 2064, pp 40-47; "Role of 'Non-Proletarian Democrats' in GDR Society Explained," 81941, 7 Oct 82, No 2062, pp 36-39]

[Text] The successful political leadership over all social processes in our country by the purposeful, cohesive and uniform SED is based on the creative implementation of the ideas and principles of the proletarian party developed already by Marx and the Leninist doctrine on the new type of party built on it. Political leadership always is a high demand made on the party. The tasks and consequences resulting from the challenges to political leadership, to each party organization and each communist in this decade.

The first months of the Karl Marx Year have been marked by outstanding mass initiatives in socialist competition for improving the GDR's economic efficiency. The working people, headed by the communists, honor Karl Marx by new deeds for further implementing the people-related policy of the 10th SED Congress to strengthen the workers and farmers power in every way and safeguard the peace. Optimism and the feeling of strength are reinforced by the successful balance-sheet that Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, drew in his important speeches at the fifth Central Committee session and before the first kreis secretaries, which form at once the foundation for coping with the next tasks he explained in implementation of the 10th party congress resolutions. The GDR has made good headway as a stable socialist state with the further shaping of the developed socialist society. Its course is marked by continuity, growth, full employment and social security. Firmly tied to the Soviet Union and the other countries in the socialist community, it is proving itself as a stable cornerstone of socialism and peace in Europe.

Prerequisite also to the remarkable international results in implementation of the party's economic strategy and in other fields have been and remain, above all, the creative initiative and diligence of the working people and the SED's leadership activity based on Marxism-Leninism, which realizes its leadership role by politically managing social development in the GDR. Our social practice gives us every good reason to assert that our party is fulfilling in honors its growing tasks as the conscious and organized vanguard of the workers class and all the working people in the socialist GDR. Firm is the confidence which the party and the people express in each other, which "is proving to be a factor for social and political stability in our society and an important motor for further social progress, particularly in view of the tougher challenges posed by the 1980's."\*

What our socialist fatherland has accomplished under changed conditions and its increased international weight in the struggle for socialism and peace demonstrate that the political organization of socialism in the GDR, with the Marxist-Leninist party as its nucleus, lives up to the growing demands in our time and passes its test in all situations. The constant strengthening of political power through further spreading and perfecting socialist democracy, as the main direction in strengthening the workers and farmers power, the development of SED cooperation

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\*"SED Central Committee Theses on the 1983 Karl Marx Year," EINHEIT, No 1, 1983, p 26.

with the friendly parties and mass organizations and the increased creative activities by the social organizations and all work collectives will continue to be the irrevocable focal point in the SED's political leadership of society.

#### Our Militant Alliance--Purposive and Cohesive

An experience deeply rooted in the workers class and our people is that the birth and steady development of our workers and farmers state and its successes in over three decades are inseparably tied to the SED's Marxist-Leninist leadership capacity. Our party enjoys high respect and firm confidence because it applies consistently and creatively the Marxist-Leninist principles, the universally valid laws of the socialist revolution and of socialist construction under the concrete conditions in the GDR and constantly reinforces the unity and cohesiveness in its ranks, its fighting strength and its close ties with the broad masses, whereby it always fulfils its leadership role. Our party's leadership role in the 1980's, measured against the implementation of the interests of the workers class and of all the people, is confirmed by the remark and task contained in the SED Program to the effect that the SED embodies the revolutionary traditions of the Communist League and the revolutionary German SPD, carries on the work of the KPD, and fulfils the legacy of the antifascist resistance fighters.

The birth and growth of the GDR also prove on German soil, the homeland of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, that the workers class can fulfil its historic mission only when it is led by a clear-sighted, fully cohesive Marxist-Leninist militant party that relates closely to the masses. The implementation of this universally valid inevitability, the central question of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism, is and continues to be the guideline for the SED's actions, and no one will ever succeed in diverting it from this course. All efforts made by the imperialists and their ideologists, however, in trying to regain their lost positions and thereby to undermine, above all, working class power in socialist countries and do away with the Marxist-Leninist parties' leadership role, are doomed to fail. Nowhere shall we in the future surrender as much as a foothold of terrain to the enemy with his escalating acts of aggression.

All those who are talking socialism but indulge the illusion it could be attained without working class power or the leadership role of its militant Marxist-Leninist party, who want to make us believe they could "improve" socialism by a "pluralistic" fragmentation of our strength that amounts to socialism's might, should let themselves be asked in view of the successes of real socialism: Where else have the interests of the workers class and all other working people been made to prevail and where did socialism gain shape and strength, without taking to heart the implication drawn even in the hour that the revolutionary workers movement was born by its founders Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, who said: "For the proletariat to be strong enough to win on the day of decision, a special party has to be founded, separate from and contrary to all others, a self-assured class party."\* Nowhere could socialism be brought

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\* Engels' letter to Gerson Trier, Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 37, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1967, p 326.



to victory without bringing to realization the Leninist doctrine on the new type of party that is built on that, without creating a militant revolutionary party as the vanguard of the workers class and the highest form of its class organization that is heading the masses in conscious, organized and uniform action.

This is what the experiences in our successful struggle confirm: With the higher demands made on the continued shaping of the developed socialist society and in view of the stronger ideological attacks by the enemies of socialism against the working class power and the party's leadership role, there is a growing importance to the party's ideological unity and organizational cohesiveness, to class vigilance, an aggressive confrontation with anticommunist ideology, and the Marxist-Leninist education of the communists and all working people.

Effectively using for that the "SED Central Committee Theses for the 1983 Karl Marx Year," thoroughly studying them and broadly propagating them is an important concern of the executive party organs and all communists. In close conjunction with implementing the resolutions of the 10th SED Congress and of the Central Committee, we must conduct the party and mass activity with the Karl Marx Year theses in such a way that they contribute to an intensive appropriation and dissemination of Marxism-Leninism among the people and make the working people still more fully aware of the relevance and vitality of the Marxist theory as a guide for revolutionary action, a weapon in the struggle against all anticommunist, anti-Marxist and revisionist notions. At the 10th SED Congress, Comrade Erich Honecker underscored that the doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin was the only science that lets us comprehend and consciously shape the past, present and future. "Without it, no one has yet eliminated exploitation and created the foundations for the new social order, let alone built the developed socialist society. 'Models' for a 'revised' socialism, wherever they have come from and however much they have been advocated by the Western mass media, have always proven unsuitable."\*

It is irrefutable in theory and practice that without the leadership role of the party as the vanguard of the workers class there is no socialism. Nor are its tasks exhausted when the working class has taken power and the socialist society is built. On the contrary, just like the CPSU and other communist parties, our party takes it for granted in its activity that the continued shaping of the developed socialist society and the international situation keep making increasing demands on the party's political leadership of society. Many factors indicate that, especially the dangerous aggravation of the international situation because of the United States and the other NATO states, striving for military superiority over socialism and seeking to turn back the wheel of history. In their Prague Peace Declaration to the states and peoples on the earth, the socialist states have given the imperialist war strategists an unequivocal answer and shown the way to peace and disarmament.

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\* Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 133.

## Political Leadership--A High Demand Made on the Party

Increasingly higher demands on the party's leadership activity arise from the inherent developmental processes of socialism, mainly from that the dimensions of the social processes are becoming increasingly more extensive in the 1980's and their entwining and their effects increase domestically and internationally. The consolidation of socialist political power and its defense capacity makes higher demands. The role of the workers class, the agent of political power and the chief productive force, is being heightened constantly, and its alliance relations are becoming closer and more diversified. Socialist democracy is reaching a higher qualitative level.

Carrying on, as the 10th party congress resolved, the main task in its unity of economic and social policy under the much more complicated conditions requires getting still much more out of the greatly increased socialist consciousness and the political maturity and technical qualifications of the working people as our most precious potential. Also the increasing importance of the cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal states, particularly in the economic and scientific-technical fields, makes higher demands on the party's leadership role. Therefore the political management of social processes by the party must constantly and predictively be further refined in order to get more out of the advantages and impulses of socialism. How this is to be done was explained by Comrade Erich Honecker at the 10th party congress with respect to three main trends. What they emphasize is the party's high fighting strength and discipline to ensure that the Central Committee resolutions filter down into the party groups and work collectives; the economy as the crucial battleground for the revolutionary actions of the party and all communists; and the consolidation of the working people's political consciousness and of their revolutionary posture through a highly effective political-ideological work.

The fine balance-sheet in the 2 years since the 10th party congress is indeed mainly also due to the various efforts the bezirk managements and many kreis managements and basic SED organizations have been making in prudently using together with well tested methods also new methods of working along these three main trends as a key for providing their management activity with greater sophistication and thereby make the work of the executive party organs and basic organizations more effective. They are making a decisive contribution to implementing the economic strategy of the 10th party congress as a party program by which the SED lives up to its people-related policy, in good time provides the proper answer for the requirements of the 1980's, reacts flexibly to newly ripened questions, directs and fosters the working people's creative activity, and so exercises its leadership role. The economic strategy of the 10th party congress is a guide for all social and political organizations and institutions and for all elements in the political organization of our socialist society. Their collective and yet specific efforts on behalf of a high performance improvement of the GDR's national economy serve the basic interests of the workers class and the entire people.

To lend ever new impulses to this fruitful cooperation for the continued implementation of the economic strategy and to make it ever more effective while its tasks are increasing, a working style is required of the executive

party organs and basic organization managements that is marked by concrete and reasonable resolutions and measures of their own for translating the Central Committee resolutions and by more of a control over their implementation, from more rapidly picking up the best experiences and their broad application. One must also quickly recognize inadequacies, analyze their causes and change matters by direct assistance on the spot and do effective political-ideological work, which includes providing good information about all problems. High energy in working people activity for strong continued economic growth, their understanding the demands of our time, their creative participation in the solution of all tasks, and their political steadfastness in every situation provide the crucial yardstick for management activity to cope with the growing importance of the subjective factor. Here we must keep in mind Lenin's remark that Marxism differs from all other theories "by outstandingly combining absolutely scientific soberness in the analysis of the objective state of affairs and the objective course of development with a decided recognition of the importance of revolutionary energy, revolutionary creative capacity, and of the revolutionary initiative of the masses which, of course, also includes that of the individuals, groups, organizations and parties."\*

To guarantee the systematic and successful cooperation among all political forces in society under SED leadership, our party has developed various forms and methods by which it takes care of this task. That includes the campaign programs of the combine and enterprise party organizations. They are important instruments, programs of the basic organizations, by which they concretely delineate their tasks so as to direct politically all the capacities in the enterprises, the work collectives, the mass organizations and the executive personnel in the fulfilment of the tasks of the national economic plan, to take the lead in this, and to ensure the communists' mass-related efforts as inspiration and models.

The campaign programs have translated the main trends in the political leadership activity, as assigned by the 10th party congress, into concrete stipulations on how party work can be organized still more effectively. Proceeding from the resolutions of the fifth Central Committee session, many party organizations have in the Karl Marx Year worked out objectives of a higher quality, discussed them thoroughly and aimed them concretely and accountably at the higher demands for economic efficiency growth in 1983. The campaign programs, such as the one of the party organization in the state-owned Riesa tire plant, are activating the entire party organization and, through purposeful political mass activity, are encouraging an important competition movement. Increasing labor productivity by one percent above the plan and improving efficiency and labor quality are an important contribution to greater economic efficiency. Bezirk and kreis managements should still more thoroughly and critically analyze the new experiences of the work with campaign programs. It is imperative to carry over, without delay, to other party organizations the best methods that ensure a high fighting strength for the basic organizations, further the ideological work of the party and mass organizations and spark new working people initiatives.

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\*V. I. Lenin, "Against the Boycott," "Werke," Vol 13, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1963, p 23.

It makes always new and higher demands on the entire political organization of socialism to strengthen the GDR as a stable workers and farmers state, as a peace state in Europe, and develop further the people's political-moral unity, demands on our party, on the parties that are friendly with the SED, on the state organs, the trade unions, the socialist youth association and all other mass organizations, on the commissions of the National Front of the GDR and on the work collectives. Their joint efforts have to be more effectively still directed at a target-directed mobilization and organization of the workers class and its alliance partners toward implementing the economic, social, political and intellectual-cultural tasks the party has elaborated.

#### The Communists Setting Examples

As the nucleus of the political organization of socialism, our party sees to it on every management level that all components of the political organization of socialism are working through their coordination and specificity for the interests of the whole people as expressed in the party resolutions and that the citizens' participation in political and economic management is broadened all the time. That is crucially dependent on party influence through exemplary and disciplined conduct by the communists in the political organs, social organizations, work collectives and the commissions of the National Front of the GDR.

Seeking to weaken socialism, its enemies keep trying to discredit the party's leadership in all social processes by insinuating that it alone decides everything. It is obvious that this deliberately distorts reality to break apart the forces acting in uniformity in our society and isolate the party from the masses. Our party has not "arrogated" its leadership claim. Rather it has correctly and long been proven through the triumphant march of Marxism-Leninism and the successful development of socialism that the workers class can fulfil its world historic role as the creator of socialist society only when led by a revolutionary party, an organized and conscious vanguard of the workers class. The communists, as Marx and Engels explained even in the "Communist Manifesto," "have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole. . . . The Communists . . . theoretically have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement."\* Its leading role in society has always been and remains for the SED, first and foremost, a high demand placed on itself, its fighting strength, its mass solidarity, and its ability to let itself be guided by scientific socialism, whereby to be on a level with the tasks of our time. Not by any sort of "privileges" are the communists distinguished, but by voluntary and conscious discipline, by active and selfless efforts toward fulfilling the party resolutions and by relations of confidence with the working people. That defines our party as the core of the political organization of socialism.

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\*Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 4, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 474.



A critical task for cooperation in the political organization of socialism is further perfecting socialist democracy as the main thrust in the development of our socialist state power. The all-round strengthening of the socialist state is and remains the cardinal issue of the revolution. All success in our country has depended on our setting up our stable socialist state in which the SED, in close cooperation with the parties united in the National Front and the mass organizations, through its alliance policy, ensures the unified political leadership over society. Its stability and strength mainly depend on the firm relationship of confidence between the people, the party and the state, on democratic centralism and the citizens' taking an active part in shaping the state and the society.

We must prudently use, direct and develop the great social capacity constituted by the 205,000 deputies in the people's representations and the 460,000 citizens on standing commissions and in activists' groups, all cooperating with the working people. The all-round strengthening and consolidation of socialist state power therefore remains an important point of emphasis in the party's leadership activity, especially also in the bezirk and kreis managements. The 111,000 communists working part-time in the people's representations are a great force whose party-minded uniform actions are to be ensured through the party groups. It makes high demands on the communists in the people's representations and on the basic organizations in the state organs to transform the 10th SED Congress resolutions and the Central Committee resolutions into political activity down to the communal level, fight consistently for the implementation of our economic strategy, strengthen political-ideological educational work, make official publicity efforts still more effective as an important part of political mass activity, and become ever more closely linked with the citizens. In this sense then the party groups have the task critically to rate, and to promote, the activity and exemplary efforts of the communists in the local people's representations. Uniform political-ideological actions, a firm political stand by all the deputies, managers and associates of the state apparatus among our comrades, and exemplary deeds of labor in all towns and communities--those are important prerequisites for high state management efficiency.

Of great weight in our socialist society are the trade unions with their 9 million members as the most encompassing class organization of the workers, as schools of socialism and motor of socialist competition, and as the agencies that represent the interests of the workers and employees. The trade unions occupy a solid position in our socialist society; they fill that position most excellently. "Never before in the history of the German workers movement and in the history of our people have the trade unions had so respected a position as they have here among us in the GDR."\* Organized by the trade unions, millions of working people through socialist competition take a direct part in the management and planning of the state and the economy and, in exercising their democratic rights and duties, fulfil a great responsibility in our socialist society. Especially through the further development of the workers class and the increasing weight of socialist democracy in material production, the responsibility of the

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\*Erich Honecker, "On Topical GDR Domestic and Foreign Policy Matters," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 23 April 1982, p 3.



trade unions is heightened. From the place the work collectives hold in the social system of socialism high requirements are derived for trade union activity and, thus, for the SED party and basic organizations.

What matters especially in the work collectives is to provide for close and comradely party cooperation with the trade union and the socialist youth association. This is where socialist consciousness is primarily deepened and where the decisions are made on the quality and efficiency of production and on instilling high state discipline. This is where socialist interhuman relations are shaped directly and concretely and where comradely and honest work is instilled. In this process of collective work it mainly is where socialist personalities develop. And here also the comrades, being the political core of the work collectives, fulfil their most important party mission and each motto gains real mobilizing force: Wherever there is a comrade, there is the party, too. Those aspects of political leadership activity therefore have to be strengthened that aim at effective ideological work, moral and material recognition of high achievements, thorough and frank information given the working people by the managers of the enterprises and collectives, and a careful attention and use of working people recommendations, suggestions and criticism.

A successful development of socialism and the cooperation of the political organizations in our society aimed at it would be unthinkable without FDJ participation, the involvement of all youth. Everywhere in our country the young generation is doing a great deal through the mass movement, "FDJ Peace Appeal." Among them are 290,000 young SED members and candidates. It must be of concern to all basic SED organizations and all communists to reinforce the Marxist class positions in the more than 41,000 youth brigades and the other work collectives that include young working people, courageously and early encourage young personnel, and help them in showing what they can do and provide them with the best experiences. The significant FDJ initiatives, such as "Microelectronics" and "FDJ Initiative Berlin," are important sectors in fighting for the implementation of the party's economic strategy and a challenge to the performance willingness of youth. It is up to the executive party organs and SED organizations to turn the youth projects into places for communist education, into important cadre forges for the FDJ and the party.

Young communists have the important task to improve the ability and urge among the members of the youth association for everyday political conversations with their contemporaries, through bringing their influence to bear on the FDJ managements.

#### Further Consolidating a Proven Alliance

An essential feature of the successful SED alliance policy for more than three decades has been the close and confident cooperation among all classes, strata and social groups, all democratic parties and organizations, all people differing in world-outlook and denomination. On the basis of those universally valid principles concrete forms of alliance have evolved that will continue to maintain, under party leadership, permanent relations in comradely and creative cooperation between the workers class, the class of the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and the other working people. In a confident exchange of views between

Comrade Erich Honecker and the DBD, CDU, LDPD and NDPD chairmen and the president of the National Council of the National Front of the GDR, after the fifth Central Committee session, it was expressed that the goals set by the working class party conformed with the vital interests of the members of all classes and strata of our people.

True to the proven principles in the Marxist-Leninist alliance policy, our party works on all levels for further deepening the confident cooperation among the parties and mass organizations in the National Front of the GDR. It orients the comrades on the National Front commissions, where more than 340,000 citizens are active, to leading this proven comradely cooperation toward new initiatives and good results in the struggle for implementing the party policy in the Karl Marx Year.

The 10th party congress resolutions affirm the importance and responsibility of all the social organizations of the working people. They unite millions of people and play a great role in the implementation of socialist democracy. Their responsibility for the continued shaping of the developed socialist society in our country keeps growing, e.g. that of the German-Soviet Friendship Society, the Peasants Mutual Aid Association (Peasants Trade Cooperative), the Democratic Women's League of Germany, the German Gymnastics and Sports Federation, the Chamber of Technology, the Culture League, Urania and all others. In terms of their specific nature, they are making a constantly increasing contribution to strengthening the GDR and, thus, in the struggle for preserving peace, in fulfilling the main task in its unity of economic and social policy, in political and technical training for the working people, and in the implementation of the multifaceted cultural and other interests. SED members in the mass organizations and their managements are doing important volunteer work and so help realize the party's leadership role. Their job is to keep fulfilling this duty incumbent on communists with great dedication.

The SED fulfils its tasks in politically leading social processes through its scientifically founded strategy and tactics, its mass solidarity and the revolutionary elan of the great and powerful collective of communists that is resolutely implementing the party's policy and decisions. The firm rooting the SED has taken in the workers class and among all other working people in our country and its grown fighting strength are also reflected by the development in its own ranks. When our party was founded 37 years ago it had 1.2 million members, today it has 2.2 million. Having 1.2 million workers among its members, the proportion of workers is the highest since the party was founded. In 1946, our party had 47,000 intellectuals, today it has ten times that many, 494,000. Other significant factors for the qualitative development of party membership such as 527,000 comrades, of both sexes, below 30 and the great process of political and technical qualification--42 percent of the members and candidates comes out of party colleges, nearly 80 percent has a technician's diploma--are important prerequisites for a constantly growing level of SED leadership activity.

Our party will continue in strengthening and consolidating its ranks and educate, and lead in the struggle, all communists, so that it will always be recognized among the people, and relevantly so, what the 10th party congress had every good reason to affirm: The SED is the party of revolutionary action. It

embodies the conformity between revolutionary theory and practice, between words and deeds. Relying on constant consultation with the working people, their rich store of experience, our party moves ahead, teaching the masses and learning from them as well.

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PRESERVING 'PLANNED ECONOMY,' 'DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM' JUSTIFIED

Guenter Mittag's Analysis

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 38 No 3/4, Mar-Apr 83 (signed to press 18 Feb 83) pp 242-251

[Article by Guenter Mittag, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary for economic affairs: "The Economic Doctrine of Karl Marx and the Economic Strategy of Our Party." A translation of the "SED Central Committee Theses on the 1983 Karl Marx Year," cited in footnote 1, is published in JPRS 83129, 24 Mar 83, No 2121 of this series, pp 10-29]

[Text] The building of real socialism and the dynamic and stable development of its economic capacity are vivid testimony to the vitality of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. What does it mean under the complicated conditions of the class struggle in our time to tap in an all-inclusive way the Marxist-Leninist theory as a powerful factor for efficiency improvement in our socialist planned economy? What conclusions is the party drawing in further implementing the 10th party congress resolutions? These are questions the answers to which attest to the creative and successful application of Marxism-Leninism to the continued successful shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR.

In his magnificent and imperishable doctrine Karl Marx provided a scientific basis for the historic mission of the workers class in the progress of humanity from capitalism to socialism. He enabled the workers class to seize political power under the leadership of its militant revolutionary party and to maintain and consolidate it through the success in the building of socialism. In conformity with the world historic importance of the doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin, all our party's theoretical and practical work is permeated with Marxism-Leninism. That is reflected by our party program for the continued shaping of the developed socialist society, the resolutions of its 10th party congress and in how the struggle is being conducted for implementing those resolutions. Theory and practice, ideological work and the solution of the concrete tasks of social development, are always inseparable in our party's activities. Therein lies one of the decisive sources for our party's, in substance, Marxist-Leninist course, for its purposeful implementation through a close relationship of confidence with the workers class and all the people and, hence, for the successful development of socialism in our republic.

In its theses on the 1983 Karl Marx Year, the SED Central Committee observes that real socialism today, in the concept of the developed socialist society, has a social strategy, founded in theory and tested in practice, for solving its present tasks on the road to communism.<sup>1</sup>

Embedded in this concept is our party's economic strategy for the 1980's. Issued by the 10th SED Congress, it conforms to the development conditions and requirements of this decade. It aims at implementing at a new and higher level the advantages of socialism by way of resolutely focusing on an intensively expanded reproduction for further materializing the main task policy in its unity of economic and social policy. Its elaboration and successful implementation are an expression of the strength of socialism to react militantly and successfully to the new, changed fighting conditions of the 1980's. Thereby socialism continues to prove itself a future-oriented society offering all the people sure prospects for an existence in human dignity, for a peaceful life, and all citizens the opportunity to develop their abilities and talents, and pointing the way to steady and gradual improvements in the material and cultural conditions of life.

At the fifth SED Central Committee session, Comrade Erich Honecker remarked: "Our party's economic strategy has passed its test in life. Through its help we, for all intents and purposes, succeeded in carrying on in the early 1980's the dynamic advances that were typical of the 1970's."<sup>2</sup>

Important results have already been achieved through the everyday struggle of the party organizations and the creative work of the working people in socialist competition as organized by the trade unions. Our national income had a 3-percent growth in 1982, as compared with 1981, and so came to more than M 200 billion. Industrial commodity production in the area of the industrial ministries rose by 4.3 percent, with the combines and enterprises producing more than a 2-day output in excess of their plan allocations. With it, the specific consumption of economically significant energy sources, raw materials and material dropped by more than 8 percent. Such internationally remarkable production growth together with a great reduction in material consumption indicates how we have started in successfully implementing the intensification of social production at a new and higher level.

In our age, the economy has become the principal arena of international class conflict.<sup>3</sup>

The smooth development of economic efficiency is and remains the firm foundation for successfully shaping the developed socialist society in all areas, the foundation and measure for the strength and superiority of the socialist social order. That is implied in the basic Marxist-Leninist conception of social development according to which the mode of production of material life in every way determines the social, political and intellectual life process.<sup>4</sup>

That also determines the importance of the political economy in the unity of its three components in the Marxist doctrine. Especially and exclusively because Karl Marx developed his economic doctrine within the framework of his streamlined social theory, as its foundation and with its linkage to political, ideological and social conditions, his economic insights were apt to become an



active instrument for the workers class to wield in its struggle for social liberation and the building of socialism. In that sense Lenin referred to Marx' economic doctrine as the main substance of Marxism.<sup>5</sup>

Just as Marx derived his conclusions for the revolutionary struggle of the workers class from the study of economic relations and his aim was to "disclose the law of economic motion in modern society,"<sup>6</sup> so he also was enabled by this very objective to develop a cohesive economic theory which amounts to a gigantic achievement in its truthfulness, profundity and practical efficacy.

Marx' theory originated as a critique of the capitalist social order. It indicates the historic spot of capitalism but also its being historically conditioned and the objective need for surmounting it. Based on a scientific analysis of the history of mankind and devoid of any utopia, Marx' teaching brought out the historically progressive role of the capitalist mode of production compared with feudalism, its unprecedented development of productive forces in comparison with all preceding historic eras. But with it Marx also showed the whole manner of contradiction in this social process. The progress of the productive forces was paid for with the massive misery out of the original accumulation, the most abominable forms of exploitation all the way to child labor, with an unrestrained exploitation of natural resources, the squandering of enormous material and intellectual potentials and, finally, the destruction of millions of human lives and of irreplaceable material and cultural values in consequence of two world wars unleashed by imperialism. In our own time the trend toward unbridled armament threatening mankind by the United States and its imperialist partners is nothing else but the perversion of human conduct caused by profit and power drives in a social order that has long become incompatible with historic requirements.

At the present, precisely, the unbridgeable antagonistic contradictions of the capitalist system that Marx had already analyzed stand revealed by an economic crisis gigantic in proportions. Public opinion in the capitalist countries has by now drawn parallels with the world economic crisis from 1929 to 1932/33. The industrial output in the developed capitalist industrial countries dropped by 3.5 percent in 1982 and the GNP, by 0.5 percent, which means a "minus-growth" all the way through. The number of unemployed has reached record levels and keeps growing.

The utilization of industrial capacities has dropped to 70 percent and lower. Tens of thousands of enterprises--more and more large corporations among them--are going bankrupt. All that, due to the entwining between the general and a cyclical crisis, expresses the surplus production crisis typical of capitalism ever since it was born. Greedy for maximum profits, capital jumped on those branches that promised the highest gains. Through the anarchy in setting up new production capacities, due to the proclivity toward an "unrestrained production expansion" as is inherent in capital, the production volume became disproportionate to massive purchasing power. That drops and drops further due to unemployment, the reduction in real wages, the cutbacks in the state's social welfare outlays, and to inflation. Not one of the many recipes to mitigate this all-pervasive economic crisis has turned out to be viable. What this confirms again, rather, is that the capitalist system is obsolete.

From his analysis of the capitalist law of economic motion Marx also drew the revolutionary conclusion that the "centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated."<sup>7</sup>

Through the materialization of this conclusion by the struggle of the CPSU, the struggle of the SED, the struggle of the communist and workers parties, and by revolutionary working class action initiated thereby, humanity's hope became a certitude that the progress in the development of the modern productive forces is compatible with a life of human dignity for all society, indeed becomes its very foundation. Since the Great Socialist October Revolution, since more than six decades, this hope of mankind has been turning into reality. And for over three decades it has been proven by the ever stronger community of the socialist states in which the GDR, the first workers and farmers state on German soil, holds a solid place.

The construction of real socialism is vivid testimony to the magnificent ideas of Marxism-Leninism. The workers class and the classes and strata allied with it give their whole strength to shaping it further, their commitment, indeed their love being dedicated to strengthening it and thereby strengthening and protecting the GDR, their socialist home. Under working class party leadership, the entire people of the GDR is bringing this great work to reality in harsh class conflict with imperialism. The Soviet Union and its allies bear the whole hatred of the imperialist circles. Their most extreme representatives, seeking predominance all over the world, have publicly called for a policy of "crusade against communism." Such adventurous policy has no prospects at all simply because it is incompatible with the inevitable and successful course of history, founded in theory, toward socialism. Among the great historic accomplishments of Karl Marx is that he pointed out the way, to the workers class and, thus, to all mankind, how to break through the cycle of anarchy and crisis and achieve a planned development of the economy in the interest of all the people. But at the same time--and this is what makes Marx' economic doctrine so particularly significant today for solving the problems raised by life in the field of economic policy--his critique of economic relations under capitalism contains the principles for a blueprint for the economy of socialist society. He was able to design it because capitalism already, together with modern industry, produces the social character of production which, however, contradicts the private appropriation of its results. Lenin already demonstrated that the further development of the social character of production all the way to the monopolies brings matters close to socialism. It follows from that that the Marxist insights relative to the economy of social production, i.e., large-scale production, also are of importance to the socialist economy.

A deliberate application of the Marxist-Leninist theory to shaping the socialist planned economy operates as a powerful factor in improving efficiency, inherent only in socialism. Never has our party ignored here that the construction and development of the socialist economy call for the solution of extremely difficult tasks under the complicated conditions of constant confrontation with the imperialist forces in the world. That calls for a constant analysis of the real economic conditions in our struggle, for rapid and diligent action and often also, for not insignificant efforts in coping with extra tasks. Under these conditions precisely our party's course of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy is passing all tests.

So our party always adapts itself to changing fighting conditions, draws the necessary conclusions and this way acts in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. This was once again expressed in the speech by Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, at the Central Committee secretariat's conference with the kreis first secretaries.

### The Economy of Time

In Marx' theoretical conception, the time economy law he formulated has a particular and outstanding importance for solving the tasks posed in the shaping of the developed socialist society. Marx points out that in socialism it becomes a law to a much higher degree because this is what it comes to: "The less time society needs to produce, say, wheat or cattle, the more time it gains for other production, material or intellectual. As in the case of individuals, its universal development, that of its enjoyments and its activities, depends on saving time. Economy of time is what ultimately all economy dissolves into. Time economy, as well as a distribution of working time among the various branches according to plan, thus remains the supreme economic law based on social production."<sup>8</sup>

There is a real and direct connection in socialist society between the labor input for social production and the output that is available for distribution. All economy in this sense comes down to saving working time so that society has more available for satisfying both material and intellectual needs.

This fundamental economic connection, in conformity with the unity of economic and social policy, has become an everyday life experience for millions of working people. And they take account of it through politically conscious and energetic conduct. And the collectives bearing the name of "Karl Marx" have called for turning 1983 into a year of massive campaigns for high labor productivity.

The fundamental importance of boosting labor productivity as that which in the last instance is "the most important and critical for the victory of the new social order"<sup>9</sup> was worked out by Lenin. It is not by coincidence that he made this crucial theoretical observation in his "The Great Initiative," which is an impassioned appeal for building and strengthening socialism through maximum labor achievements. Lenin was of the glowing conviction that socialism "in comparison with capitalism represents and realizes a higher type of social labor organization. That is the heart of the matter. Therein lies the source of strength and the guarantee for the inevitable complete victory of communism."<sup>10</sup> He also pointed out that it was "a very difficult and lengthy effort, but one has started with it, and that precisely is the most important."<sup>11</sup>

Our party has always let itself be guided by these fundamental lessons by the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism about boosting labor productivity. The GDR's economic history is tantamount to a history of increasing labor productivity. In 1955, we needed 72 working hours for industrial gross output at M 1,000, computed at constant prices. In 1965, only still 33 hours, in 1975, 18 hours and in 1982, 13 hours. Behind it lies the planned materialization of all the factors for boosting labor productivity, as Marx had already brought out: Higher average skills of workers, the stage of science and its technological

applicability, the social combination of the production process, the scope and efficacy of the means of production and the natural conditions.<sup>12</sup> When we look at these factors from the standpoint of the struggle for the implementation of our party's economic strategy for the 1980's, we find they work for our benefit. The working people, already highly qualified, will gain still higher skills. According to the 1981-1985 five-year plan, the proportion of specialists among the working people alone is going to rise from 59 to 61 percent.

Especially as far as science and its technological application are concerned, our party posed new tasks for that at the fifth Central Committee session. The GDR's scientific-technical potential is already quite remarkable and will--with a national income share of 4.1 percent for what we spend on science and technology--rise to a degree by which we shall more than equal the average level of modern industrial countries. That gives us all we need to make science and technology still far more instrumental than previously in raising labor productivity in the broadest sense of the word. In terms of the economy of time, science and technology have to save 543 million working hours in 1983 which society then can use for satisfying other purposes, material and intellectual ones. That in our trusting the advantages of socialism we are assigning ambitious goals to ourselves becomes clear by the task posed at the fifth Central Committee session, to reduce further the still existing backwardness in labor productivity as of 30 percent, compared with those capitalist countries that at present are among those which determine top world standards. Thus we do not gage ourselves against the average. The effort to bring this about is something the party is organizing with resolution and foresight. Competition obligations assumed, the millions of suggestions on boosting labor productivity, the many new ideas for improving the labor processes, and the introduction of the most up-to-date technologies and their optimum utilization indicate that the party guideline has found an emphatic response. Such agreement also greatly shows that the working people in our republic know boost in labor productivity with its most concentrated expression, a direct cutback in jobs, is in our socialist state the starting point for creating new opportunities for creative work for the society and for satisfying the needs of individuals. New premises are created for solving socially significant tasks.

Let us take the development of our socialist building trade. Through industrial housing construction labor productivity was significantly increased in this field--if we look at the number of dwelling units completed. While in 1970, we needed 820 hours to complete a new 5-story prefab unit, in 1982, we did it in only 600 hours. That made it possible for us to assign an increasingly larger portion of social labor time in construction to modernization and reconstruction, for instance, especially to downtown residential areas. In thus making better use of available structures and territorial conditions, the overall industrial construction efficiency rises. Cutting down work on one spot makes possible tackling tasks elsewhere and, along with it, additional efficiency reserves are found. Boosting labor productivity on one spot provides us with higher economic efficiency all-around.

Such better utilization of our possibilities now marks the implementation of the party's economic strategy for the 1980's. That also includes doing away still more rigorously with unjustified disparities in the labor productivity



levels as between the various enterprises and combines. So that a far larger proportion than thus far reaches the development level and speed of the most advanced, political management for performance comparisons in labor productivity and other areas of efficiency improvements still deserves greater attention.

So the purposeful handling of this time economy law brings about an expansion of society's opportunities for extending and developing new production activities, and this by way of intensification. This connection between increased labor productivity and the development of new production branches was expressed by Karl Marx as follows: "The more productive the labor, the more it becomes possible to add branches of labor; using labor in a new way that has become redundant for reproducing the old production on the same or expanded scale. be it by using old raw materials or by discovering or expanding the dealing with new ones found."<sup>13</sup>

#### High Level of the Productive Forces for the Benefit of the People

In this context the Marxist economic theory contains another very important realization for the implementation of our economic strategy. It is this that the developmental possibilities of production based on the social character of labor are in principle unlimited and that the science application to it is crucial. Marx took for granted that modern science application would become a crucial factor in the economization of production if it took place at a large scope or scale. Marx illuminated the role of science in production development as follows: "As the production process for science application, so als, vice versa, science becomes a factor, a function, as it were, of the production process. Science obtains the calling of becoming a means of production of wealth, a means for enrichment."<sup>14</sup>

It has been 120 years that Marx so profoundly analyzed the then still embryonic yet recognizable processes. In our age they are spreading at a new quality. That is true of the scope as well as the depth of interlinkage between science and production which, in conjunction with the ongoing conversion to production automation, we call the "scientific-technical revolution." This pertains at precisely the same time to the organic combination between this scientific-technical revolution and the advantages of socialism, i.e., to the birth and growth of a social order which, by implementing the ideas of Marx, entered its march of triumph through revolutionary working class struggle.

This new social role of science and the use of its data for economic and social progress as such is crucial for implementing our party's economic strategy, all the more so because a tremendous growth of the productive forces is indicated.

Our republic as a modern industrial country, in close community with the USSR and the other CEMA countries, adapts to this new development on behalf of strengthening socialism, expanding its positions and safeguarding peace. That is, above all, also true for microelectronics which has grown into an industrial branch in our republic and more and more pervades all social production. We take into account in this that this modern technology itself is further developing at a tremendous pace and that most of the work still has to be done, particularly with regard to the breadth of its application. This will provide us with new, heretofore not even recognized, reserves for increasing productivity and the quality and efficiency of all labor.



According to the 10th SED Congress resolutions, an important field for the productive application lies in using robot technology. After our having already introduced 22,400 industrial robots of various types, what now matters, in accordance with the requirements from the fifth SED Central Committee plenum, is to more strongly combine the introduction of robot technology with the conversion of entire technological processes to attain maximum efficiency. This orientation by our party indicates how much importance it attaches--in applying the Marxist-Leninist dialectical method--to understanding in good time, while carrying out the economic strategy, the necessary changeover points from any quantity obtained to a higher quality.

That applies of course also to many other matters that have to do with the development of the productive forces and their optimum economic utilization, such as a comprehensive use of the maximal refining of available raw materials, especially the domestic ones, on the basis of appropriate technological procedures. Studying Marx' economic doctrine shows us, among other things, the great importance Marx always attached to making complete use of everything that comes off during the production cycle. What some bourgeois economists hail as a great discovery could have been read in Marx for more than a century. Let us only recall his comments on the utilization of the "excrements of production," the waste products, the secondary raw materials, that is, as a factor in production economization. Such concrete references vindicate us in our theoretical work as well as in our practical actions by which we seek to strengthen the capability of our socialist economy. We conceive of all such references from Marx as a militant mission, as part of his legacy, in shaping socialism for the good of man by using the entire wealth of its inherent possibilities.

#### Concrete Application of Marx' Reproduction Theory

Marx' reproduction theory is of extraordinary importance to the socialist economy. While critically taking issue with the bourgeois economists' unsuitable attempts at comprehending economic interrelations, Marx created a comprehensive reproduction theory which, in and by itself, constitutes one of the great scientific accomplishments of our age. Marx recognized the economy is a constantly reproducing and developing social organism. He disclosed that not only the material elements of production are constantly reproducing but so are also the economic relations, in capitalism, the unbridgeable contradictions between capital and labor. He discovered the elements and functions of simple and expanded reproduction. He pointed to the role of productive work for keeping reproduction going. He succeeded in creating a feasible and tangible model for an understanding of reproduction.

Marx' reproduction theory forms one of the decisive foundations for the economic strategy the 10th party congress designed, the core of which is the intensification of the entire economy in conformity with the requirements for the 1980's. For successfully implementing this strategy it is decisive deeply to penetrate Marx' remarks about intensively expanded reproduction with which he combined the "greater fruitfulness of the conditions" that have to be resorted to in order to keep reproduction going. With it, he points to making more use of what one has, material as well as plants. But that always is tied up with the active role of live labor which is itself irreplaceable. Thereby alone can the embodied elements in production become effective. "Bathed in the fire of labor, appropriated

as part and parcel of labor's organism, and, as it were, made alive for the performance of their functions in the process, they are in truth consumed, but consumed with a purpose, as elementary constituents of new use-values, of new products, ever ready as means of subsistence for individual consumption, or as means of production for some new labor process."<sup>15</sup>

The only conclusion that can be drawn from that is making all objective production conditions effective, through the full use of labor time, good labor organization and, hence, management activity oriented to optimum efficiency, as a maximal economic factor for further production growth by way of intensification. That implies also regard for Marx' basic remark that "simple reproduction is a real factor in accumulation."<sup>16</sup> That then means organizing growth by a more effective use still of what we have, for which there already is a wealth of impressive results and manifold ideas in the GDR economy. Precisely the achievements in this field convincingly refute the silly bourgeois propaganda twaddle about there allegedly being a lack of initiatives in the socialist economy. Can anyone seriously assume that our economy without such--in part completely novel--solutions in the modernization of plants, the more efficient use of material, and the tapping of new raw material sources, including secondary raw materials, could have increased, and will further increase, its performance constantly? The facts referred to speak for themselves.

In all such results by way of intensification we bring the advantages of socialism to realization. That is the political core of this struggle in which, according to the measures set by the fifth Central Committee session, new and greater tasks have to be coped with. By applying Marx' reproduction theory our party therefore concentrates all efforts on further reducing at high rates our specific energy, raw materials and material consumption and, furthermore, bringing about our production growth while using less energy, raw material and material in absolute terms. So everything is being done to constantly modernize and maximally utilize the available basic assets which in the producing economic sectors, with M 536 billion, have meanwhile reached a value that is two and a half times larger than the annually produced total national income and thirteen times as much as what is annually available in investments. Intensification by no means primarily amounts to matters of planning methods and even less, to constantly reiterating concepts. It amounts to a deep penetration, founded in theory, into the essence of the socialist economics and to the will and ability to find ways everywhere by creatively thinking about it and create opportunities for bringing the intensively expanded reproduction to realization on a new and higher scale while using all available science data and the experiences of the best units.

#### The Planned Economy for the Good of the People

In our republic, the workers class and the entire people, led by the SED, implement the lessons of Karl Marx in using their political power to augment the people's wealth, produce high achievements by way of intensification, and ensure that the economic results benefit the people.

The basic prerequisite for it is that the whole reproduction process is managed by a predetermined plan. That is an inevitable implication of public property being overall socialist state property, which calls for overall state management

and planning based on democratic centralism. That amounts to the key question in utilizing the advantages of socialism because thereby the possibility is created "that the social production anarchy is replaced by a socially planned regulation of production in accordance with the needs of all and of each individual."<sup>17</sup>

The development of the socialist planned economy is a project of historic dimensions. On the basis of Lenin's ideas in the Soviet Union, the socialist planned economy has long passed its fitness test. In a hostile environment the first socialist state in the world, on the solid foundation of its socialist planned economy, grew into an economic power of the very first rank. What is the use in view of all this of all the maligning of the socialist planned economy which bourgeois propaganda has been reiterating for decades in the style of Tibetan prayer wheels?

Their anger, to be sure, is understandable: the successful development of the USSR and the entire community of socialist states including our own republic shows things work better without capitalists. Nor is there any doubt that also in the future all will build on shaky ground to whom real socialism is a thorn in the side and who therefore do not tire in employing the whole arsenal of "well intentioned recommendations" all the way to massive designs in meddling in the form of embargoes and sanctions, to undermine the planned economy and thereby deprive socialism of one of its decisive advantages.

The successful development of the GDR economy likewise depends on the application of the universally valid inevitabilities of the socialist revolution and thus also of the Marxist-Leninist planned economy. And it is understood, of course, that the advances in economic efficiency and the increase of its production potential, as well as the ever closer linkage between economic and social processes, call for constantly perfecting economic management and planning. That is particularly true today when any further economic growth presupposes higher efficiency, i.e., an all-encompassing use of all intensification factors. This is done by way of further improving management, planning and economic cost accounting as a whole, in conformity with the economic strategy requirements. It is essential for the combines meanwhile to have been turned into a stable foundation of the GDR's socialist planned economy.

Our party will continue, while proceeding from the firm positions of the immortal teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, to analyze all requirements for the further economic consolidation of socialism and creatively work out those solutions that serve the continuing successful shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. "SED Central Committee Theses on the 1983 Karl Marx Year," EINHEIT, No 1, 1983, p 23.
2. "Aus dem Schlusswort des Genossen Erich Honecker, 5. Tagung des ZK der SED" (From Comrade Erich Honecker's Concluding Speech at the Fifth SED Central Committee Session), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1982, p 22.

3. Cf. "SED Central Committee Theses . . .," op. cit., p 25.
4. Cf. V. I. Lenin, "Karl Marx," "Werke" (Works), Vol 21, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1960, p 44.
5. Cf. ibid., p 38.
6. Karl Marx, "Capital," Vol I, Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 23, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, pp 15-16.
7. Ibid., p 791.
8. Karl Marx, "Principles of the Critique of Political Economy," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1953, p 89.
9. V. I. Lenin, "The Great Initiative," "Werke," Vol 29, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, p 416.
10. Ibid., pp 408-409.
11. Ibid., pp 416-417.
12. Cf. Karl Marx, "Capital," Vol I, loc. cit., p 54.
13. Karl Marx, "On the Critique of Political Economy (1861-1863 Manuscript)," Marx/Engels, "Gesamtausgabe, zweite Abteilung" (Complete Edition, Second Section), Vol 3.6, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1982, p 2253.
14. Ibid., p 2060.
15. Karl Marx, "Capital," Vol I, loc. cit., p 198.
16. Karl Marx, "Capital," Vol II, Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 24, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1963, p 394.
17. Friedrich Engels, "Anti-Duehring," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 20, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 261.

#### Paul Verner's Argument

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 38 No 3/4, Mar-Apr 83 (signed to press 18 Feb 83) pp 252-258

[Article by Paul Verner, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary for security affairs: "The Relevance of Marx' Doctrine of the State"]

[Text] Marx' doctrine of the state--creatively expanded by Lenin--is the centerpiece of revolutionary theory and practice and is state doctrine also in our country. By means of historic and contemporary experiences it is being demonstrated that only by consistently and creatively applying it can the workers class, led by its Marxist-Leninist party, victoriously cope with the



socialist revolution and establish and shape the new society. Which ambitious tasks does our state face in the 1980's? On what does the strength of socialist democracy depend?

The theoretical foundation of SED strategy and tactics is found in the fundamental lessons Karl Marx has taught us about the revolutionary role of the workers class as the creator of the exploitation-free classless society, about the need for the workers class in alliance with all working people to seize political power, and about the socialization of the means of production as the basis for the socialist transformation of society. The creative application of these lessons enabled the workers class in our country, in alliance with the farmers and the other working people and under SED leadership, once the glorious Soviet Army had crushed Hitler fascism, to carry out the antifascist-democratic transformation in a unified revolutionary process, to create the foundations of socialism and to shape the developed socialist society.

Of crucial importance for that socialism could gain a firm footing also in Karl Marx' homeland was the establishment of the first socialist German workers and farmers state as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat that represents the interests of the entire people. Stably within and respected worldwide, the GDR today, on the dividing line between the two opposed social systems, fulfils its international duty in close alliance with the Soviet Union and the other countries in the socialist community of states. Commenting on our state's role and responsibility in the current phase of social development, Comrade Erich Honecker declared at the 10th SED Congress: "The socialist state embodies the political power of the workers class, of the class of the cooperative farmers allied with it, and of the other working people. Also in the 1980's it provides the guarantee for that the great aims are achieved which our party has posed on behalf and for the benefit of the working people. In implementing its economic-organizational and its cultural-educational functions, in foreign policy and in ensuring the protection of the workers and farmers power, it has to fulfil significant tasks. Its further all-round consolidation remains a key question of our policy."<sup>1</sup>

Karl Marx was the first in history who provided a scientific answer to the question about the origin and character of the state in showing that since the split into classes the state has been the given ruling classes' power tool for enforcing their interests. That refutes all bourgeois-idealistic state theories seeing it as an organ above the classes with the task of reconciling the interests of the various classes with one another. Marx demonstrated that such bourgeois theories aimed at proving the unchangeability and eternity of the capitalist system and the bourgeois state. Together with Friedrich Engels, from his deep insight into the historic mission of the workers class as the creator of the new society, Marx derived the compelling conclusion to replace the bourgeois state with the political rule of the workers class. The "Communist Manifesto" says about the aims of the proletariat concerning political power that the "overthrow of the bourgeoisie lays the foundations for the sway of the proletariat." And elsewhere: "The first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy. The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of



the state, i.e., of the proletariat organized as a ruling class; and to increase the total productive forces as rapidly as possible."<sup>2</sup>

There already Marx and Engels pitted against all the falsifiers of their doctrine two extremely important arguments: To them working class power is tantamount to winning true democracy, and they look at the state ruled by the proletariat as the most important instrument for social transformation, with the socialization of the principal means of production becoming the fundamental task right after the seizure of political power. After the class struggles in France in 1848/49, which Marx analyzed thoroughly, he called the political rule of the workers class the dictatorship of the proletariat. Of special importance to elaborating Marx' doctrine of the state were the experiences of the Paris Commune. Their study confirmed the conclusion was correct which Marx had first drawn in his "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," to the effect that the proletariat must smash the bourgeois state machinery. "That conclusion," Lenin wrote, "was the main and fundamental point in the Marxist doctrine of the state."<sup>3</sup>

In the Paris Commune Marx recognized the very first, just arising and already sufficiently clear features of a historically new type of state, the dictatorship of the proletariat. He wrote: "Essentially it was a government of the working class, the outcome of the struggle by the producing against the appropriating class, the finally discovered political form in which the economic liberation of labor could proceed."<sup>4</sup> Using the Commune as an example, Marx demonstrated that the bourgeois-parliamentary republic was unacceptable as the form in which to organize the proletariat's political power. As of a special advantage of the Commune-type of state he emphasized that it should be "not a parliamentary but a working corporate body, executive and legislative at one and the same time."<sup>5</sup> The historic experiences with the Paris Commune and the development of the Marxist conception of state in the outcome of those experiences culminated in the statement in the "Critique of the Gotha Program": "Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of revolutionary transformation of one into the other. That also accords with a political transition period, the state of which can be nothing else but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."<sup>6</sup>

Lenin, the ardent champion of the lessons of Marx and Engels, who ingeniously carried on their historic work, while preparing the Great Socialist October Revolution, paid great attention to the Marxist conception of state, especially to the problem of the dictatorship of the proletariat because now, after all, the key issue was the fully ripened proletarian revolution. Debating Kautsky and other revisionists, he asserted: "Only he who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat is a true Marxist."<sup>7</sup>

Marx' doctrine of the state is the international communist movement's unrelinquishable property. Lenin defended it against opportunism, further extended it creatively and made it become real in the young Soviet state. The Great Socialist October Revolution and the construction of socialism in the USSR as such overwhelmingly confirmed the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the state. Its imperishable vitality is proven no less in our country as in the other countries in the socialist community of states. Time and time

again, Lenin's prediction stands confirmed: "The transition from capitalism to communism is bound to produce of course an enormous wealth and variety of political forms, but the most essential in that is bound to be this: the dictatorship of the proletariat."<sup>8</sup>

#### Marx' State Doctrine Became State Practice

The smashing of the old state power and the construction of new power organs in what was then the Soviet zone of occupation from the very beginning was embedded in the great revolutionary process Marx, in the "Communist Manifesto," called the rise "of the proletariat to the position of the ruling class, to win the battle of democracy." It was a matter of establishing a broad alliance of all antifascist-democratic forces under working class leadership. The democratic administrations in the communities, towns, kreises and laender were staffed with worker-functionaries and reliable democrats from other bloc parties. Proven working class representatives and other tested and tried antifascists were formed into a democratic police. A basic jurisprudence reform was initiated. Altogether, between 1945 and 1952, some 160,000 workers in material production assumed functions of state and in the economy in the domain of the GDR. With it, the whole governmental structure which had served the reactionary purposes of German imperialism, was gradually and fundamentally changed under the purposeful leadership of the Marxist-Leninist working class party. The bourgeois separation of powers and civil service were done away with, new democratic people's representations were set up, and the new state organs were oriented strictly to people-related working methods. Otto Grotewohl exhorted the comrades who had transferred from enterprises to administrations not to become administration workers but to remain workers in the administration.<sup>9</sup>

The fundamental transformation in the governmental field made high personal demands on state functionaries and deputies and exacted much courage, energy and readiness for sacrifice from them. After all, first they had to learn to exercise power. As the course of history proved, that way alone could the conditions be created for definitively overcoming, with the strength of all the people, the imperialist past, and for creating and reliably protecting the new order. Through the SED as the leadership force in the revolutionary process, such Leninist principles for constructing a proletarian state as ensuring a determined mass participation in state administration, abolishing a privileged civil service, and democratic centralism became major features of the new state. That turned Marx' state doctrine into vivid state practice in the homeland of the founder of scientific socialism. In the construction of socialism in our country, the socialist state proved the chief instrument for the management and planning of all sectors of society. The more socialist development advances—all experiences demonstrate--the greater becomes the weight of the state's creative-organizing role.

With resolve, the socialist state secures the accomplishments of socialism and protects the lives and property of its citizens within and without. It practices active anti-imperialist solidarity. The demands made on governmental efforts as they result from the GDR's position and responsibility as a component of the socialist community of states and its active participation in the Warsaw Pact and CEMA are becoming increasingly significant. The fraternal alliance and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries is of crucial importance for shaping the developed socialist society in the GDR.

One cannot talk about the role and functions of the workers and farmers state of the GDR today without emphasizing its peace-defending and peace-protecting role alongside the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries. Preserving peace today is the principal governmental task wherever the working class is in power. Peace and socialism are at one, socialism has no classes and strata that would make money by preparing for war, reap armaments profits or be interested in any foreign aggression. We place in opposition to those who--as the Reagan administration and its adherents today--are spreading the lie of the century about a "threat from the east" and who impute to the socialist states they wanted to export the revolution the peaceful coexistence policy and the socialist states' resolute advocacy of effective confidence-forming measures, as comes out once again in the Prague initiative by the Warsaw Pact member states and by which the socialist countries have lent new powerful impulses to their peace offensive. It is being shown more clearly than ever that it is of crucial importance for defending the peace against the insane designs of the most aggressive imperialist forces to consolidate incessantly the unity and cohesion of the socialist community of states with their main force, the USSR, and to reinforce further every socialist state politically, economically and militarily.

Imperialist reaction in the United States and the other NATO states knows well enough that its course of unmerciful profiteering at the peoples' expense and its playing with fire for a devastating world war are blocked primarily by the might of the socialist states relying on the unity between party, state and people. Anticommunist propaganda, especially the slandering of socialism, occupies an increasingly more important spot in imperialism's counterrevolutionary strategy, along with the continual escalating of the arms race, the stirring up of political conflicts all over the world, and the policy of economic sanctions and embargoes. At a closed session in the State Department in Washington in October 1982 on the subject "Democratization in Communist Countries," U.S. Secretary of State Shultz, for instance, announced that the U.S. government would spend \$ 44 million for a modernization radio program with the purpose of enlarging the geographic range of the diversionary stations and their "political influence."

Denying the class character of the capitalist state, the imperialist ideologues are conducting the campaign against the socialist states under the worn flag of "democratization." Yet the political working class power, as Lenin already proved, has brought about such a change in the forms and institutions of democracy from all forms of bourgeois democracy "that those whom capitalism had enslaved, the working classes, actually make use of democracy at an extent never seen before in the world."<sup>10</sup> There is another profound thought Lenin expressed: "Democracy is expressed most strongly in the basic problem of war and peace."<sup>11</sup> Does not bourgeois democracy prove every day anew that it is unable to resolve the basic problems of social development in the interest of working people, neither the problem of war and peace nor the elimination of starvation and misery in the "third world," nor the unemployment, homelessness and subsistence anxiety in its own countries? Wherever one looks, the function of bourgeois democracy is to bar the mass of the people from decisions that concern their most elementary vital interests and justify as "libertarian-democratic" all the ills and crimes of imperialism.

Theoretically since Marx, practically since 1917, socialist democracy evolved as the historically higher type of democracy that relies on the alliance among all classes and strata in socialist society under working class party leadership and focuses on enforcing economic and social progress. In the GDR, all Democratic Bloc parties and organizations, all the forces affiliated in the National Front, operate jointly for the socialist fatherland and the citizens' well-being. It would be insane to measure that democracy against a parliamentary one placed at the service of capitalist politics.

#### Facing New and Ambitious Tasks

At the start of the 1983 Karl Marx Year, the GDR working people--relying on a fine balance sheet--are facing new great tasks in fulfilment of our 10th party congress decisions. These tasks, especially the rigorous implementation of the economic strategy for the 1980's, place new and higher requirements on the socialist state and its organs. It mainly amounts to strengthening socialism's economic capacity by converting to intensively expanded reproduction as an important prerequisite for the all-round strengthening of the positions of socialism in the struggle for the preservation of world peace. "That is and remains decisive," Comrade Erich Honecker asserted at the fifth Central Committee session, "with all its implications for management, planning and organization, and for the quality and efficiency of labor."<sup>12</sup> State organs also bear a high responsibility for predictively ensuring stable supplies, repairs and renovations of dwelling units, and the implementation of other urgent civic concerns. An important spot attaches to the measures that have to be taken because of the imperialist threat to ensure our country's defense readiness within the framework of the Warsaw Pact, keeping it always at the necessary level.

As experience demonstrates, the associates in the central and local state organs and the great number of deputies keep adjusting ever more to the new conditions for the struggle. A clearer effort is being made on all state management levels, pursuant to the economic strategy of the 10th party congress, creatively to seek new solutions, economize more and tap reserves for a significant performance improvement. Resolute measures are being taken against obstructions in working methods, the dodging of responsibility or the procrastinating in decision-making. Such state organs as the kreis assembly and council of Stassfurt Kreis, taking new steps in the rational use of the labor capacity, or the kreis assembly and council of Doebeln Kreis, successfully organizing its own provisions of vegetables and fruit, are setting examples going beyond their own territories for the needed higher skills in state activity, and many other people's representations and their organs are already emulating that.

The higher demands made on state activities require the resolute implementation of democratic centralism. Without discipline and authority in the management organ--as Marx and Engels already expressed in debating Bakunin and the Bakunin adherents--one cannot talk about any "concentration of forces" or "united action,"<sup>13</sup> or of making real use of proletarian power in the struggle against the bourgeoisie. Democratic centralism, inseparable from a functioning socialist planned economy, is a crucial condition for the needed boost in GDR economic capacity. It ensures taking care of overall state interests, prerequisite to the satisfaction of territorial demands. Democratic centralism of course is no one-way street subject to central instructions. Rather, it implies strict state



discipline, the observance of socialist legality by all state and economic organs, and the ability by the kreises, towns and communities to enforce laws and resolutions correctly and effectively to promote the citizens' mass initiative in the territory. Experience exchange and performance comparison, which serve to adopt the best models, are an important element here of democratic centralism in governmental activity.

Great importance attaches in the effort of fulfilling the 1983 national economic plan to what the local state organs can do in enforcing the economic strategy of the 10th party congress, especially in decisively improving the cost/benefit ratio. That also sets the standards for the effectiveness of territorial rationalization with its increasing possibilities. It follows, for all that, from the much stronger material-technical base of the national economy. Valuable experiences have been gathered in the management and planning of the territorial development. These possibilities and experiences must now be used for promoting the economically needed structural development and for reducing expenditures and saving working hours, material, energy and investments. Mainly wanted is a perceptible contribution to a higher economic effectiveness of science and technology, to a speed-up in the use of microelectronics and robot technology, and to reducing the use of energy sources, raw materials and material. In other words: not just anywhere, but at the key points of our economic development, the leverage is to be applied.

A keystone of the work in communal policy in 1983 is the local state organs' contribution to the housing construction program, the hallmark of our socio-political program. On behalf of the intensification of all economic processes, as one knows, the maintenance and repair of available housing, its reconstruction, and the building of new apartments in already bulldozed inner-city sections are of increasing weight. The people's representations and councils in the kreises, towns and communities, as Comrade Erich Honecker explained at the fifth Central Committee session, are to develop resolutely, and in particular, the efficiency of the kreis-managed construction capacities, including the building trade, and apply them rationally to kreis requirements. They must still more cautiously plan--particularly in inner-city construction--and pay still more attention to the ramifications to traffic and provisioning, and they must more thoroughly examine still what the citizens propose and suggest, if the overall social benefits are to go hand in hand with the benefits for the citizens.

Carrying out our agricultural policy as issued by the 10th party congress has an important place value in our economic development. The communal representations and councils and the mayors bear a high responsibility to solving these tasks. High demands are made on their political efficacy and prudent cooperation with the LPG boards and the heads of the territorial production departments in the LPG's. This involves the use of all farm production reserves, including individual small-scale production, as well as solving tasks in communal policy at their whole range so that the cooperative farmers feel comfortable where they work and live, in their villages, and the children are glad to carry on the work of their fathers and mothers.

The main thrust in the development of our state power is and remains the further perfecting of socialist democracy. The working people's experiences, ideas and suggestions, expressed during the plan debate and in the "Join-in!" competition,



are highly significant for the realization of our plans. They attest to the working people's confidence in their socialist state. That is being deepened when working people sense that their word or suggestion is important. Therefore it is of an importance of principle that the fifth Central Committee session remarked that up to that session already more than 242,000 suggestions coming out of the debate on the preparation of the 1983 national economic plan were effectively included in the plan.

The people's representations hold a central position. Under purposeful party leadership and with the assistance from all social forces, their authority and efficacy have been perceptibly enhanced. The deputies, supported by the councils, are doing complex and valuable volunteer work in serving their voters and all the people. What Karl Marx considered understood for the organs of the proletarian dictatorship, that their composition mostly includes "workers or recognized representatives of the working class," has been brought to realization. Our people's representations conform to Marx' demand for working corporate bodies. Thousands of deputies are themselves doing exemplary work on their jobs themselves, are checking on the state of plan fulfilment in their standing commissions and on the implementation of the resolutions right on the spot, are consulting with the working people and give them suggestions and convince themselves of the outcome of their efforts.

Strengthening our socialist state and ensuring its authority and functionality is unthinkable without effective and functional law. The working people's basic democratic and social rights and their consistent protection are important accomplishments of socialism. Law security, social security and safety belong indissolubly together in socialism. With it it becomes ever more apparent that those rights can only be granted because the working masses are fulfilling their duties to society in an exemplary fashion. Wherever work collectives persistently attempt disciplined work proper as to qualities Marx' insight into the unity between rights and duties has acted as godparent.

The all-round strengthening of socialist state power is up to the whole people, with the communists and all basic SED organizations in the lead. Through their selfless struggle for fulfilling the party resolutions with discipline and strictly on principle, and through their vivid and relevant mass activity, the comrades among our deputies, the managers and associates in the state organs first and foremost, help bring to realization in practice the role of the workers and farmers state as the main instrument of the working people led by the working class. Imperialism has always tried--and does so today with special tenacity--to undermine the unified political leadership of society by the party and the functioning capability of the socialist state. None of those attempts have any chance because we occupy firm Marxist-Leninist positions, guarantee the inviolability of our state power, increase our vigilance and everywhere instill life into the tried and tested forms of socialist democracy.

Our state is highly respected by the workers class, the cooperative farmers, the intellectuals and the other working people, the women and youth. This respect is based on the results of our economic and social policy, the real developmental opportunities for the working people and their knowledge of the ability and will the party and the state have to carry on the main task course undeterred. It is based on all citizens' confidence in the peace policy of our party and government. True to Marx' doctrine of the state, we are strengthening and consolidating the workers and farmers power in the GDR.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 116.
2. Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, "Communist Manifesto," Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 4, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, pp 474, 481.
3. V. I. Lenin, "State and Revolution," "Werke," Vol 25, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1960, p 418.
4. Ibid., p 342.
5. Ibid., p 339.
6. Karl Marx, "Critique of the Gotha Program," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 19, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 28.
7. V. I. Lenin, op. cit., p 424.
8. Ibid., p 425.
9. Cf. Otto Grotewohl, "Reden und Aufsätze" (Speeches and Essays), Vol IV, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 71.
10. V. I. Lenin, "First Congress of the Communist International—2-6 March 1919," "Werke," Vol 28, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 479.
11. V. I. Lenin, "Report on the Work of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of the People's Commissars at the First Conference of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, Seventh Legislative Period," "Werke," Vol 30, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, p 309.
12. "Aus dem Schlusswort des Genossen Erich Honecker, 5. Tagung des ZK der SED" (From Comrade Erich Honecker's Concluding Speech--Fifth SED Central Committee Session), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1982, p 17.
13. Friedrich Engels, "The Congress of Sonvillier and the International," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 17, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 478.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

NEED FOR, OBJECTIVES OF IDEOLOGICAL INDOCTRINATION EXPLAINED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 38 No 3/4, Mar-Apr 83 (signed to press 18 Feb 83) pp 294-300

[Article by Guenter Schneider, deputy department chief, SED Central Committee: "Class Struggle and Revolutionary Conduct Today." A translation of the "SED Central Committee Theses on the 1983 Karl Marx Year," cited in footnotes 5 and 10, is published in JPRS 83129, 24 Mar 83, No 2121 of this series, pp 10-29]

[Text] What does revolutionary and class-bound action mean in our country in the process of the continued shaping of developed socialism? What is the dialectics in the intensifying class struggle like? How does the GDR face its challenges, and what are the ramifications for its political-ideological work in making class-bound conduct more pronounced? What makes one's attitude toward one's own work and toward public property a central issue of class-bound action in the 1980's?

Class standpoint, class-bound conduct, revolutionary responsibility--these are all terms we are familiar with. They express a selfless backing of the working class cause, the readiness to take an active part in the struggle for freeing the exploited, building socialism and thus serving human progress. This amounts to modes of thinking and action produced by the workers class, to an awareness generated out of the connection between its objective interests and scientific socialism, which must always again be reproduced.

From John Reed's "Ten Days That Shook the World" we know that scene where a student, pretending to be a revolutionary, seeks to confuse a Bolshevik, class-conscious soldier with all sorts of catchphrases and distortions. But the soldier keeps repeating: Only two classes, and either you are on one side or on the other."<sup>1</sup> The soldier was correct. His standpoint accords with Karl Marx' scientific insight, to the effect that the "history of all society so far has been the history of class struggles,"<sup>2</sup> between "exploited and exploiting, dominated and dominating classes."<sup>3</sup> Today also, that struggle determines the transition from capitalism to socialism at a global scale.

Who among us--young or old--has never yet pondered the meaning of class struggle and of class-bound revolutionary conduct under the present conditions in the GDR where class antagonism has been surmounted? Who has failed ever to ask himself

what it means to act today like our revolutionary models who accomplished deeds in the past and fought class battles which have permanence in history? In these questions there resonates the fine desire to extend the work of the revolution and carry it into the next century, not only to preserve what previous generations created but to leave a trace of one's own in the struggles of mankind for social progress to set, in turn, a model for future revolutionaries. Is what the soldier said still valid today? It is. The struggles of our age are more multi-layered; one cannot always easily make out the nature of political manifestations in our time. All the more needed is an answer to the question: What does it mean today to be revolutionary, to hold one's own in the class struggle?

At the first glance the answer may seem to be simple: acting in terms of the working class and its goals that are valid for all mankind, i.e., committing oneself to the implementation of the 10th party congress policy, taking a part in "elevating the people's material and cultural standard of living based on high speed in the development of socialist production, higher efficiency, scientific-technical progress and a growth in labor productivity."<sup>4</sup> That is the class obligation of the workers in our country, the revolutionary task of the working people. It is implied in the historic mission of the workers class as the grave digger of the capitalist society and the creator of socialism. By doing what we can to further develop socialism in our country and make still more of its values and advantages, we are making our contribution to strengthening the socialist community and are taking an active part in the worldwide struggle against the forces of imperialism, reaction and war. True enough, socialism has become a reality in the GDR in somewhat less than three decades. From it it follows that the position on socialism in our country no longer is one toward an ideal that still has to be fought for but is a relationship with everyday social processes in their interactions with international class struggles.

That fact is essential for our political-ideological work. There is a growing importance to conveying Marxist-Leninist knowledge, to the massive appropriation of the scientific world-outlook, so that all working people learn to integrate their ordinary experiences in the overall political situation by comprehending the deeper connections and motivations behind the events and processes in our time, take a position and derive their own conclusions for what they do. An active participation in the shaping of socialism illuminates the course and goal of socialism and the next summits that have to be taken; it prevents the idea that, for all intents and purposes, the revolution is behind us and all the present and future requires is some small improvements, so that one needed no militant efforts anymore because the barricades of the class struggle had come down. Instead, our party program describes the further shaping of the developed society as a historic process of penetrating political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural changes. That applies to the complete transition of our economy to an intensively expanded reproduction, which ties in directly with a speed-up in our coping with the scientific-technical revolution. It applies to extending the revolution in the fields of ideology and culture, to the development of socialist democracy, the extension of the party's leadership role, the deepening of socialist mass consciousness and the further molding of the socialist life style.

This focus on extending the socialist revolution indicates the magnitude and scope of the tasks ahead of us. It illustrates that we find ourselves in a revolutionary process and that the shaping of the developed socialist society is a struggle that calls for boldness, strength and courage to be successful in stepping on new land. One line in a well known song of the FDJ song movement says "the pipeline is our barricade." That is it, precisely: Our revolutionary task is honest work on behalf of the people, for strengthening socialism. Not a few motives for such revolutionary conduct have remained the same over generations: bringing the historic working class mission to realization under Marxist-Leninist party leadership, or creating a world without exploitation and war, a society in which the well-being of man and the happiness of the people is the measure of all things. The situation and the starting conditions for class-bound conduct are different today, however, from what they were for previous generations. The workers class in our country, under SED leadership and in alliance with the peasantry and all other working people, seized power, "achieved the antifascist-democratic transformation in an integrated revolutionary process, laid the foundations for socialism, and began the shaping of the developed socialist society."<sup>5</sup> The GDR became a solid component of the socialist world system.

#### The GDR in the International Class Struggle

Each of us senses daily that we cannot establish the developed socialist society without being affected by external conditions. These are most volatile times. Domestic and foreign policy changes are taking place at a speed incomparable to those in decades in the past. All the more necessary it is for us, true to Marxist-Leninist theory and our historic experience, to trace each event back to its class character and always again answer the question of who benefits from it--social progress or reaction.

It accords with the nature of socialism that it can fully unfold its values and advantages only if we succeed in safeguarding peace and thus create the most favorable external conditions for its internal development. By all means, mainly by an unexampled arms escalation, imperialism seeks to prevent precisely that and subject socialism to its wolfish law, weaken it and "escalate it to death." Yet precisely the struggle for securing peace impressively demonstrates that the interests of the countries of real socialism, of the international workers movement and of all humanity objectively coincide in crucial matters. The countries of real socialism bear the main responsibility for preventing imperialism from seeking the way out of its crisis in a devastating world war. But that can as little be achieved by fine words as by the illusion imperialism would by itself come to its senses and refrain from unleashing such an apocalyptic course of arms. At this time real socialism has to settle several tasks at once to safeguard peace and ensure the continued shaping of socialism:

- further develop the new society and further strengthen its stability and impact, which to us in the GDR means resolutely extending the main task course in its unity of economic and social policy;
- produce the means to ensure socialism's defense capability on the requisite level; and
- support the peoples' struggle for social progress in conformity with the internationalist position of our party and people.



Destroying the old and developing the new society is by no means easy. Even Karl Marx wrote in 1871: "The working class knows it must pass through various phases of the class struggle. The working class knows this work of renewal (Author: releasing the social forms of production from their class character) will time and again be stopped and blocked by the resistance from inherited privileges and class egotisms."<sup>6</sup> The antagonistic class contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat has assumed a new quality since the Great Socialist October Revolution, 46 after Marx made that remark. The omnipotence of capital was broken. The capitalist states were confronted from then on by the workers and farmers power the Soviets had organized and, for several decades, by the socialist world system. Since then the basic contradiction between socialism and capitalism has been the decisive driving force for international politics in our century. The seeming up-and-down in history and the often contradictory manifestations and events can be explained by the revolutionary transformation from the last exploiter system to socialism. Understanding this dialectics and comprehending political events, by means of Marxist-Leninist theory, in their essence and from the vantage point of our era are an indispensable prerequisite for class-bound conduct because this glance at overall development--despite all difficulties of the day--assures us that we, the forces of socialism, are moving ahead, no matter how much reaction seeks to block our way.

From its very first day, socialism has been built in tough confrontation with the forces of capital, and their vehement class conflict continues. It fully confirms Lenin's remark that the bourgeoisie would do what it can to "conduct the struggle for regaining the 'paradise' taken from it with tenfold energy, raging passion and hundredfold hatred."<sup>7</sup> The exploiter class has certainly not slackened in that design. Active anticommunism has become an essential feature of imperialist politics. And so the "international situation is marked by increasing gravity stemming from the imperialist arms buildup and confrontation policy, while one can yet not ignore that advances have been made in the defense of peace."<sup>8</sup> Our capacities have grown, in other words, yet we know the dangers threatening us precisely. Comprehending this dialectics in the international class struggle and its consequences is an essential prerequisite for class-bound conduct and responsible work here and now, and for revolutionary passion.

By knowing that truth, the increasing toughness of the class struggle today and the great socialist potentials, we are gaining new strength for tackling our tasks with revolutionary dedication. That is why it is an important agit-prop concern to provide direction for creative action through our revolutionary theory and do so with ideological substance and a class-bound loyalty to principles. "What matters most in our political-ideological work is to explain still more convincingly the dialectics of the revolutionary world process based on our world-outlook and our party program. We must explain our growing tasks in the all-round strengthening of the GDR and open everyone's eyes to our place in the international class conflict and our contribution to a world of peace and socialism."<sup>9</sup>

The Marxist-Leninist class struggle doctrine thus continues to be of burning relevance because it facilitates an understanding of the dimensions in the conflict between reaction and progress, of the unity between peace and socialism,

of the connection between imperialism and war and the roots for the implacability between the two social systems. Knowing the class character of the decisive social movements in our age grants access to understanding that and why socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism exist in unity, that we fulfil our patriotic duty through a consistent internationalist stance and give backing to the forces of progress by our own example in strengthening socialism in the GDR.

#### Class Struggle and Daily Work in Socialism

By establishing the public ownership in the means of production, the contradiction between the productive forces and production relations also lost its antagonistic character in our own country. The class struggle, the decisive impulse for social progress under exploitation conditions, no longer has any socioeconomic ground. "For the first time in history, those who create the social wealth are able to realize their own interests during their work, the most important sphere of human life, and to play an effective part in determining the affairs of their enterprise, the community where they live and society as a whole."<sup>10</sup> Impulses adequate to the new social quality are developing.

Instead of the implacable opposition that is bound to result from the social character of production and the private appropriation of the results of labor, the relations among the classes and strata in socialism are marked by comradely cooperation and mutual assistance, by real freedom and democracy for the working people. The basis for it is the identity of the fundamental social, collective and individual interests. The impulses of socialism do of course not prevail by themselves. For one thing, one has to take account of the conditions carried along with the worldwide class struggle between socialism and imperialism. Then also, each step ahead on the road of socialism makes a demand for further developing its material-technical base and, with it, for higher socialist awareness. We must comprehend the personal responsibility for the commonwealth, that everyone can and must affect the course of history.

In this sense, Comrade Erich Honecker's remark at the fifth Central Committee session, about the growing role of the subjective factor, is highly relevant.<sup>11</sup> Awareness, thinking and acting in the spirit of the scientific working class world-outlook, gains importance to the extent that we are making headway in the shaping of socialism and controls the tempo of further advances. The socialist awareness of the working masses, Lenin writes, is "the only foundation that can assure us of victory."<sup>12</sup> That is so because socialism differs from previous political movements by that it "overturns the basis of all earlier relations of production and intercourse, and for the first time treats all natural premises as the creatures of hitherto existing men, strips them of their natural character and subjugates them to the power of the united individuals."<sup>13</sup>

This awareness of the power of the working class can of course not be "handed on" from generation to generation. It must evolve always again through perceiving the responsibility for the shaping of socialism. Class consciousness solidifies to the extent that individuals find social connections intelligible and the working people find the experience confirmed that good work benefits society as well as the individual, and that the party's words and deeds conform in

politics. After all, all this reinforces the conclusion that our party's course means comfort and certainty about the future for generations and is aimed at the well-being of the people and the safeguarding of peace.

As any advance in socialist society does not take place spontaneously but through the conscious activity of men inspired by the party, so also the unity of economic and social policy does not act as an automatic stimulus. We understand this unity in the dialectical sense as two aspects affecting each other, as a dynamic, developing interconnection. So it comes down to understanding that socialist society develops contingent on increased labor productivity, that socialism of necessity is performance and growth oriented, because that creates the preconditions for securing and gradually elevating the people's standard of living, as in turn that again provides capacity potentials for the necessary performance improvement. From the well known remark by Lenin, that labor productivity is ultimately the most important thing for socialism's victory over the exploiter society, the implication follows that the central questions about class-conscious conduct pertain to the attitude toward work and public property.

One of the most important demands made on political-ideological mass activity in the 1980's is to bring out clearly that ideological convictions and political clarity are reflected mainly in one's attitude toward one's own work and toward public property. That implies help in turning work step by step into a decisive vital need and reinforcing the individual's responsibility for the whole and his socialist position on public property. As the nature of labor changes, the attitude toward work also must change. Here our party proceeds realistically as well because, despite all the advances, traditional opinions can still be encountered. The new function of labor and property in socialism as sources for a stable and planned development of the new society for the benefit of the workers class and all working people must receive awareness time and time again by means of the ordinary conduct of each, including each manager. The strength of one's own class in shaping awareness definitely fosters class-bound conduct and makes the responsibility for society more pronounced.

To assist in innovator breakthrough indeed requires no less fighting spirit than in the past. It is revolutionary to take a position in favor of conscious work discipline, multi-shift operations for machinery, and the rational use of funds. Steadfastness is called for in not turning away when others are doing botch work. You cannot set a good example for fine work unless you make the highest demands on yourself. So it is necessary, especially in the work collectives, to clarify the ideological issues connected with it concretely and in picking up the experiences of the working people, bring out clearly the effects of positive attitudes, and combat negative conduct. That also is crucial for enforcing the socialist performance principle, "from each according to his ability, to each according to his performance."

Experience confirms that an ever better handling of the performance principle greatly influences the working people's initiative and their ideas about justice and self-assurance, and that its direct tie-in with the working people's vital interests releases mass initiative. That fine achievements make possible greater individual prosperity is socialist simply because fine work benefits society and

the individual. Striving for performance is not easy: it calls for education and physical and mental efforts. And some impeding factors like egoism or greed have to be overcome as much as illusory ideas about the time it takes for socialism to grow into communism. Our party program clearly assigned the goal "to continue in the shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR whereby to create the fundamental prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism."<sup>14</sup> Which means that the prerequisites for communism and its distribution principle through a superior productivity of social labor--on a developed material-technical base--must be created step by step. Therefore our party incessantly endeavors to create that militant, critical and self-critical atmosphere in all collectives that will provide a healthy ground for high economic achievements, for conscious creativeness that grows out of a socialist class attitude. This is mainly a challenge to the managers to head the struggle, create the best prerequisites for the workers' quest for performance, and set standards for combative courage and communist steadfastness.

#### Higher Demands Made on Political-Ideological Work

"What matters more than ever," Comrade Erich Honecker said at the 10th SED Congress, "is to give a class-bound answer to any political or social question and always to thrust into the system-conditioned essence of the phenomena."<sup>15</sup> The crucial prerequisite continues to be the party's carrying Marxism-Leninism into the workers class. The experience in the implementation of the 10th party congress policy confirms that the working people's social commitment, their quest and readiness for performance, is most pronounced wherever the party organizations' political mass activities consistently aim at reinforcing fighting positions, and where knowing about the magnitude of the tasks to be solved is coupled with a pronounced readiness accountably to share in the responsibility. The better a task is understood for what it is, the greater will be the commitment to fulfilling it.

To become perfectly clear about how, on the basis of our scientific world-outlook and in accordance with our tried and tested party policy, the next step is to be taken in the continued shaping of the developed socialist society is impossible by the acquisition of knowledge and the explanation of inter-connections alone. It calls for the unity of Marxist-Leninist education and organizational-political work. So it is not the purpose of political-ideological work merely to popularize doctrinal guidelines but to lead to conscious socialist conduct by means of the Marxist-Leninist theory. That implies our demonstrating how much we ourselves have already changed the world for the good of men and how we solve problems while advancing and overcome shortcomings by having the party organize the people for the struggle. So political-ideological work is based on realism and justified social optimism. Clarity about the indissoluble connection between politics and economics has a great effect on how what has been accomplished is understood as social success, and the tasks still to be solved, as a challenge to knowledge and skills and creative energy.

Knowledge, conviction, one's own experiences, mainly gained through taking part in the struggle, and the sense to be on the right side in the class struggle between capitalism and socialism, lend strong impulses to reinforcing the class-bound stance and strengthen the patriotic pride in the GDR and the sense of



fellowship with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and with all anti-imperialist forces. Therefore agitprop finds it indispensable to work with the successful balance sheet of socialism in the GDR and on the international plain while explicitly presenting socialist values and advantages in connection with the problems that still have to be resolved. Such ideological efforts reveal what is revolutionary in the shaping of our society and the international class struggle and open our eyes to the next summits and exertions ahead of us. Then, in our age, under our own conditions, we conform to Lenin's remark to have the party aim its attention principally at "elevating the workers onto the level of revolutionaries."<sup>16</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

1. John Reed, "Ten Days That Shook the World," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1957, p 248.
2. Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, "Communist Manifesto," "Werke" (Works), Vol 4, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 462.
3. Friedrich Engels, "Preface to 'Communist Manifesto'" (German edition of 1883), Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 21, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 3.
4. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 48.
5. "SED Central Committee Theses on the 1983 Karl Marx Year," EINHEIT, No 1, 1983, p 16.
6. Karl Marx, "First Draft for 'Civil War in France,'" Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 17, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 546.
7. V. I. Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky," "Werke," Vol 28, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 253.
8. "Aus dem Schlusswort des Genossen Erich Honecker, 5. Tagung des ZK der SED" (From Comrade Erich Honecker's Concluding Speech--Fifth SED Central Committee Session), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1982, p 10.
9. Erich Honecker, "The Next Party Tasks in the Continued Implementation of the Ninth SED Congress Resolutions," "Reden und Aufsätze" (Speeches and Essays), Vol 7, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1982, p 177.
10. "SED Central Committee Theses . . .," op. cit., p 21.
11. "Aus dem Schlusswort . . .," op. cit., p 24.
12. V. I. Lenin, "What Is to Be Done?" "Werke," Vol 5, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1955 p 363.
13. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, "The German Ideology," "Werke," Vol 3, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 9.

14. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz publishing house. Berlin, 1976, p 9.
- 15 Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht . . .," op. cit., p 142.
16. V. I. Lenin, "What Is to Be Done," loc. cit., p 487.

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'UNENCUMBERED EDUCATION CONCEPT' SEEN UNFIT FOR SOCIALISM

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 45, 23 Mar 83 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "SED Rejects 'Unencumbered Education.'" A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] Prof Dr Gerhard Neuner, president of the GDR Academy of Pedagogic Sciences, has strictly turned down a "free education" of youth as propagated by leftists, among others, in the West. In the most recent edition of the theoretical party journal EINHEIT (No 3/4, 1983) he asserted that "humanistic" recommendations in those terms for the socialist school and pedagogics were in vain. The champions of such theories evidently were "unable to realize that in socialist society there is no contradiction between educational goals, unambiguous demands, performance requirements and individual development." In socialism they were posed "in the interest of individual development." Socialist society kept the focal point on man. There could therefore be "no free development of the individual outside of society, outside its collectives."

In this context Neuner turned against considerations within the GDR from the point of view of developmental psychology "about general construction faults in the child-society relationship also in our society, about the 'predominating cognitional, knowledge and performance orientation in our society' and the right of adolescents critically to examine the need for higher demands." For coping with the demanding educational tasks they were "not only unhelpful but erroneous in principle." Neuner referred there explicitly to a critical observation published about the GDR's system of education last year in NEUE DEUTSCHE LITERATUR by East Berlin psychologist Hans-Dieter Schmidt.

GDR Academician's Argument

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 38 No 3/4, Mar-Apr 83 (signed to press 18 Feb 83) pp 330-336

[Article by Prof Dr Gerhart Neuner, member, SED Central Committee; president, GDR Academy of Pedagogic Sciences; member, GDR Academy of Sciences: "The Vital Force of Karl Marx' Educational Ideal." Translations of sources cited in

footnotes are published under quoted headings in the following JPRS issues of this series: Footnote 3--"SED Central Committee Theses on 1983 Karl Marx Year Published," 83129, 24 Mar 83, No 2121, pp 10-29; Footnote 12--"Risks of Pedagogical Models' 'Authoritative Style' Pointed Out" (by Prof Hans-Dieter Schmidt, child psychologist, East Berlin), 82447, 13 Dec 82, No 2084, pp 16-23]

[Text] Together with Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx established his educational ideal scientifically, in demarcation from abstract philanthropic yearnings and illusions about the "omnipotence of education." Imperialist ideology is opposing the effects of this materialistic conception by a flood of anthropological conceptions which are also meant to help explain revisionist attacks against socialism. Karl Marx' educational ideal, which includes the conception of the polytechnical school, proves amenable to current and future requirements particularly in view of today's educational tasks.

Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya, Lenin's wife and a noted Soviet pedagogue, in a speech made the point that Lenin picked up Marx' works as a "man seeking answers for burning and urgent questions."<sup>1</sup> To consult with Marx also has been a proven working method for our party, for the GDR communists. It enables us, as the demand was formulated in the SED Central Committee Theses on the Karl Marx Year, to understand the tasks of our age at a deeper theoretical level and resolve them with rich ideas, and this also, and not last, in the field of education.

#### The Educational Ideal--Relating to Real Circumstances

For centuries thinkers and writers indulged the illusion social conditions could be changed for the better solely, or preferentially, through education. Varied and rich are the ideas about the education of humanity, the free and all-round development of man; they attest to the impassioned yearnings and hopes of great philanthropists. Particularly the rising middle class, fighting against the enslaving feudal conditions, produced admirable and valid ideas and reflections about the free, all-round and harmoniously developed personality, about education in the spirit of the true, the good and the beautiful. The imposing thought structures of the Enlightenment, the bourgeois educational novels, the social and educational concepts of the French materialists and of the great utopians, the educational ideas of German classicism, and the theoretical reflections about man in classical bourgeois philosophy--all that is part and parcel of the indispensable traditions in humanistic thought. At the same time, however, all these humanistic thinkers and poets, without exception, found no viable way to bridge the enormous gap between their lofty ideas and the somber and suffocating reality of the exploiter society. So they contrived "pedagogical provinces" and utopian islands where one could pursue, undisturbed by reality, the noble business of forming a new, beautiful man. Bourgeois thought, even in its most mature forms, was never able to overcome the striking contradiction between lofty educational ideals and the antihuman realities of the capitalist exploiter system.



Against these abstract-philanthropic yearnings and reflections, these utopian illusions about the "omnipotence of education," Karl Marx--together with his close companion in the struggle, Friedrich Engels--deliberately pitted his strictly scientific dialectic-materialistic concept on the development of man in society. Much as Karl Marx, as well as Friedrich Engels, had been replete with social pathos in his early years, much as he was moved by the idea to succor the human race, he by no means saw his task in adding another conception on human benefaction to the many available already, which were as well intentioned as they were feeble. Together with Engels, Marx heaped nothing but polemics and mockery on such reflections by post-Hegelian philosophers. He and Engels rather sought to explain the actual laws moving society; they saw in the workers class the real social force, the "executor of history." Provided with scientific insight into the course of history, it can bring about social relations in which the all-round and harmonious development of all men can become reality. Thus the difference between Marx' educational ideal and all previous conceptions on the education and development of man first and foremost lies in that it is being related in a materialistic way to the real circumstances.

Wholly in those terms Karl Marx derives the all-round and harmonious development, not from general ideas about humanity and education, but from a scientific analysis of the "nature of large-size industry." It of necessity demanded the "worker's all-round flexibility" and made it a question of life and death "to reconcile circumstances" to that law of social production.<sup>2</sup> The capitalist exploiter system, on the other hand, with its production relations, its social barriers, and its division of labor, that disfranchises and cripples the worker and turns him into an appendage to the machine, opposes the materialization of the all-round harmonious development that has become objectively necessary and is possible because of the development of the productive forces. It cannot be turned into social reality until capitalist conditions are surmounted by the socialist revolution. Karl Marx' educational ideal, being part of his theoretical social conception, in contrast to all bourgeois-humanistic ideas and ideals, is a realistic and militant program for the transformation of social relations and for the liberation and development of all men.

Today, after the Great Socialist October Revolution, through the victory of the socialist revolution in many countries in the world, has made Karl Marx' ideas pass their test of fire, it is possible to realize what socialism, by turning those ideas into action, has actually already accomplished for an all-round and harmonious development of all men, mainly for the thus far exploited and suppressed majority of the people. The political and social transformation, liberated labor, the elimination of illiteracy and all men's access to education and culture, the penetrating transformations in the educational system--all that finds a concrete and vivid expression in the life stories of millions of people. Within a brief historic time frame, socialism has proven a society for man, regardless of the different starting situations and developmental levels in the various countries, of the most complicated external and internal conditions for originating the new society. As to education and culture, thanks to their enormous efforts toward realizing Marx' educational ideal, the socialist countries have become today the most developed region in the world.

These facts are as apparent as the millionfold suppression, crippling and waste of the people's capacities and talents in the capitalist world of today. Nothing has to be taken back of all that Karl Marx, in principle, found about the effects of capitalism on man, mainly on the exploited and suppressed majority: millions of people doomed to unemployment; illiteracy even in the wealthiest capitalist countries, let alone the developing countries; armaments program carried out at the burden of the working masses, interfering with the solution of urgent social and global problems, even threatening the existence of mankind as such; the preservation of the educational privilege and the criminal neglect of public education; and the deliberate stultification and manipulation of men and all the capitalist culture business. Even though in the hundred years since Karl Marx' death much as changed in people's lives in the capitalist countries and external manifestations of exploitation and suppression have partly also changed, what has remained as before is that the capitalist social system torments the life of people like a nightmare and that it opposes the all-round and harmonious development of all, which is as objectively necessary as it is possible. This also confirms what the theses on the Karl Marx Year state: "The successful development of socialism and the deep crisis in capitalist society are direct confirmation of the Marxist theory."<sup>3</sup>

In view of these realities, there is something highly relevant in the materialist approach in Marxist thought on man. Many thinkers in capitalist countries, deeply worried about the threat against and debasement of man, are more and more looking for the roots of it in the capitalist conditions. They often follow Marx' ideas without already being Marxists. Imperialist ideology opposes that by a veritable flood of anthropological conceptions. The worse the realities of the crisis, the more highfalutin becomes the sound imperialist ideologues are making about man. High-flown words about men's freedom, about human rights, and about the individual, despite their shifting lines in theoretical arguments, have become part of the preferential inventory of late bourgeois theories. Whereas abstract theories and postulates on man by pre-Marxist thinkers indicated a certain immaturity of thought, and in the circumstances, today they are being used to whitewash the capitalist exploiter system with its crimes and ills. The causes for the conditions in the capitalist world were unceremoniously shifted over into man. The striking social differentiations between the rulers and the ruled, the educational privileges, even neocolonialist practices are attributed to reactionary endowment and racial theories; imperialist wars, aggression and the threat of aggression, to biological behavior doctrines; and egotism, greed and the fight of all against all, to elemental drives.

Late bourgeois thoughts about man, as outlined here, have remained pre-Marx in all their basic theses. That can be most clearly seen in late bourgeois pedagogical theories which as a rule faithfully reflect the general tendencies in social science thought. With the deepening of the cultural crisis in consequence of the general crisis, in the pedagogic field more and more neoconservative theoreticians make themselves heard. They are arguing against the dissemination of knowledge among the masses and are seeking to stabilize the crisis-ridden capitalist social order by means of procapitalist, nationalistic and anticommunist education. The catchwords of the culture society and equal opportunities which were fashionable in the 1970's now are "utopian slogans." Equality of opportunity contradicted human nature and the biological insights into human endowment.<sup>4</sup> Other bourgeois pedagogues bewail the crisis of education in a world of crisis--the economic

crisis, the governmental crisis, the ecological crisis, the culture crisis, the crisis in interhuman relations--but are unable to understand their social causation or to point to a way out. And so, wholly in the sense of the anthropological wave, they are propagating the retreat of education to general interhuman relations, to the love between man and man.<sup>5</sup> This "universal love," so some of these ideologues speculate, could also be used against socialism and against the socialist school, as will still be shown. On the other hand, even among pedagogues in capitalist countries there is a growing inclination to follow Marx' ideas more or less consistently: they attribute the present condition of bourgeois education to the capitalist class society.<sup>6</sup>

#### Universality--Related to the Actual Wealth of Relations

The all-round development of the individual, according to Karl Marx, will only cease to be conceived as ideal "when the impact of the world which stimulates the real development of the abilities of the individual comes under the control of the individuals themselves, as the communists desire."<sup>7</sup> The quintessence of this dialectic-materialistic thesis is: universality is brought to realization only to the extent that a concrete society offers a concrete individual the opportunities to become active in every way, appropriate human culture and establish rich, diversified relations. That applies also to the new socialist society the supreme purpose of which is the all-round and harmonious development of all people. Also in socialist society, the possible measure of universality available to every man is, in any given case, determined by the actual developmental level of that society, its material and spiritual wealth, its chances for activity and education, and its living conditions. The realization of Marx' educational ideal of the all-round and harmonious development of all men is, like the construction of the communist society as such, a long-range historic process. Such a dialectic-materialistic point of view demands realism as much as it opens up a broad prospect.

By theoretically setting down the tasks for the continued shaping of the developed socialist society in the SED program, our party has staked out the measure of all-round and harmonious development for all citizens in our state as it is necessary and realistically possible for the foreseeable social developmental stage. The concrete political struggle must be conducted, the necessary tough ordinary work has to be done in the economy, in all social sectors and also in education and in the schools, to achieve a higher degree of universality for all men. Marx' ideal becomes the reality in the life of our society and of each individual through the real social movement in the shaping of the developed socialist society, the setting of the foundations for the gradual transition to communism, and in actively tackling the tasks and requirements for an ongoing revolutionary transformation.

Our party policy conforms to this objective dialectics as it is aimed at the well-being of the people; its effects are notable in the lives of millions of citizens in our state. The course of unity between economic and social policy, the rising educational and cultural level, political-ideological work, and various opportunities for proving oneself and for experience broaden the actual wealth of relations among all people and have the effect that the citizens' awareness and self-awareness are growing as are also the variety and wealth of individual characteristics and abilities. In socialist society--quite as Karl Marx predicted it--all social advances express themselves through the advances in the

development of more conscious and enriched individual personalities. Our party takes account of that in focusing all its policy on tackling the greater and more complicated tasks with the people, appealing to their awareness and initiative to invest their considerably grown potential of abilities and talents, but also by "showing people respect, understanding them and being understood by them."<sup>8</sup> This policy of principle also determines the line for school policy and pedagogic work. It finds its specific expression in the demand by the Central Directors' Conference to place the concern for the development of all young people in the center of all pedagogic work.<sup>9</sup> This high demand made on pedagogic work conforms to the objective dialectics, the degree of maturity in the developed socialist society, as it relies on the rich experiences of the pedagogues in our country and on progressive pedagogic-psychological insights. Pedagogic formalism and thoughtless routine in dealing with children and adolescents, as the Central Directors Conference has demonstrated, are unfit for the educational plain of our society.

How anachronistic in turn do these demands appear from the bourgeois ideologues, in terms of the already described "universal love," for "humanizing" the school and pedagogics. That pedagogic conception is inspired by the motives and argumentations of the ongoing anthropological wave, but new it is not. It got started in the early 20th century as "pedagogics coming from the child" and was among some of its advocates subjectively an honest protest for sure against the situation of the children in class society, against the capitalist cram and drill school. Even so, as all generally human postulates, it remained ineffective. It made no difference to actual mass education. In view of the current situation of the children and adolescents and of school education in the capitalist crisis, such high-sounding phrases must all the more sound like mockery. And that is not all. Some of these ideologues think they have to address their "humanistic" recommendations above all at the schools and pedagogics in the socialist countries. Our children and adolescents are not to get a "free education" as such but one free from socialism, from socialist ideology, from the demand for knowledge and performance. Quite apart from the fruitlessness of such hopes, these theoreticians, who are caught in their abstract-humanistic thought constructions about the nature and development of man, about "free" education, evidently are unable to realize that in socialist society there is no contradiction between educational goals, unambiguous demands, performance requirements and individual development. In our society they are posed in the interest of individual development. These are humanistic goals and demands; they are of the kind, and they are posed in such a way, that they become the necessary precondition for a healthy, all-round development of all individuals.

Today's theories on "free education," even those that are advocated by people who call themselves leftists, actually add nothing to Max Stirner's theses which Marx and Engels already wiped out in their polemics against "Saint Max" in their work "The German Ideology." Marx and Engels countered Stirner's cult of the "egoist in the extraordinary sense" and of his "uniqueness"<sup>10</sup> by the materialistic thesis: "Only in the community with others has an individual the means to develop his talents in all directions; only in society then personal freedom becomes possible."<sup>11</sup> Socialist society, which places man in the center, and where new comradely interhuman relations form, is such a society. Therefore



There can then be no free individual development outside of this society, apart from its collectives. Conscious, socialist personality develops in the active give-and-take with the demands of that society and its collectives. In practical pedagogic work, in terms of our humanistic educational conception, it is indispensable to raise these necessary demands in terms of development. With an understanding for the children, in an atmosphere of respectful and confident relations, and with love for the children, so they will foster the development of each individual at an optimum. That is what the creative quest and ardor of the pedagogues in our country are all about. The need to pay attention to and apply insights from developmental psychology, hence, is large. Considerations from the point of view of developmental psychology, however, about general construction faults in the child-society relationship also in our society, about the "predominating cognitional, knowledge and performance orientation in our society" and the right of the adolescents "critically to examine the need for higher demands" are not only unhelpful in coping with the ambitious educational tasks but are erroneous in principle.<sup>12</sup>

### Polytechnical School--Humanistic Achievement

Karl Marx, who had so resolutely turned against the illusions of an "omnipotence of education"--again in full conformity with his closest comrade in arms Friedrich Engels--at the same time acknowledged the important role of education and the school as levers for social transformations, as long as they were conceived with scientific understanding of social and human development. Education combining productive work with mental and physical training, theoretical training with practical activity, would "lift the workers class far above the level of the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie."<sup>13</sup>

Drawing children and youths into the "participation in the great effort of social production" was something Karl Marx regarded as "a progressive, healthy and justified tendency."<sup>14</sup> In the same sense he looked at the technological and agronomic schools evolving at the time as the precursors of the future polytechnical training oriented to the needs of modern production.<sup>15</sup> The combination of work with education and diversified technical training was what Friedrich Engels in his polemics against Duehring called "a practical basis for scientific education."<sup>16</sup> Looking into the far distant future, Karl Marx spotted in the "factory system as one can read about in detail in Robert Owen the germ for the education of the future, which will combine for all children above a certain age productive work with instruction and gymnastics, not only as a method for increasing social production but as the only method for the production of all-round developed men."<sup>17</sup> The conception of combining instruction with productive work and gymnastics, of the polytechnical school, Karl Marx related to his educational ideal which he thus set down as a conception for real human education.

After the triumph of the socialist revolution in the Soviet Union and in other countries, the construction of the polytechnical school became an essential element of the great social transformation process, and it also meant a transformation in educational thought and practice. The school was removed from its traditional isolation, tied up with production and thus placed in the midst of the practical and mental struggles for the new socialist society and the new way to work and live. Under Marxist-Leninist party leadership, the working class started to exert a direct influence on the education of youth.



No wonder that the introduction of polytechnical education ran into the resistance from the forces of the past. They maligned it as child labor and found their lofty educational ideals threatened by this turning of education and the school to the profane world of labor. Basically these are argumentations from an elitist, intellectualized and aestheticizing culture concept bourgeois in coinage that was pitted against the polytechnical school and are partly carried on to this day. Pessimism about and hostility to technology have of late been playing a role in this. The actual ills, the environmental problems, the narrow specialization and the one-sided human development are blamed, not on capitalist society, but on industry, technical civilization per se being held responsible for it.

The coping with science and technology is under the conditions of the continued shaping of the developed socialist society a decisive revolutionary task. On mastering it depend the strength and defense capability of socialism as well as its chances for the well-being and prosperity of men and for their all-round and harmonious development. Science and technology in our days are an important testing ground for human attitude and performance, for creativeness and morality. The polytechnical school has great opportunities for forming such characteristics and attitudes in all young people. Therefore a central school policy task lies in getting still more out of our polytechnical schools, closely linked with production and with life, for a pertinent education of young revolutionaries.<sup>18</sup> The Marxist conception of the polytechnical school, a deeply humanistic conception, proves open here to the criteria and requirements of the future.

The Marxist educational ideal and its conceptions on the polytechnical school is a ferment in the revolutionary transformation of society. That is the way it has been in the construction of socialist society; that is going to be its effect in the future.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. N. K. Krupskaya, "That Is Lenin," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1966, p 19.
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3. "SED Central Committee Theses on 1983 Karl Marx Year," EINHEIT, No 1, 1983, p 10.
4. Wolfgang Brezinka, "Erziehung und Kulturrevolution. Die Paedagogik der Neuen Linken" (Education and Cultural Revolution--The Pedagogics of the New Left), Munich/Basel, 1976, pp 111-112.
5. DIE ZEIT, Hamburg, 5 November 1982, pp 41-42.
6. Hans-Jochen Gamm, "Allgemeine Paedagogik. Die Grundlagen von Erziehung und Bildung der buergerlichen Gesellschaft" (General Pedagogics--The Educational and Cultural Principles of Bourgeois Society), Reinbeck bei Hamburg, 1979, p 255.

7. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, "The German Ideology," "Werke," Vol 3, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1958, p 273.
8. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 137.
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12. Cf. Hans-Dieter Schmidt, "The Image of the Child--A Norm and Its Effects," NEUE DEUTSCHE LITERATUR, No 10, 1982, pp 73 ff.
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15. Cf. Karl Marx, "Capital," Vol I, loc. cit., p 512.
16. Friedrich Engels, "Anti-Duehring," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 20, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 300.
17. Karl Marx, "Capital," Vol I, loc. cit., pp 507-508.
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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

MARX' CONCEPT OF ART'S 'PROPAGANDISTIC FUNCTION' PROMOTED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 38 No 3/4, Mar-Apr 83 (signed to press 18 Feb 83) pp 337-343

[Article by Prof Dr Hans Koch, member, SED Central Committee; director, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Culture and Art Studies, Academy of Social Sciences, SED CC: "Marx and Engels on Principles of Socialist Literature and Art." A translation of the "SED Central Committee Theses on the 1983 Karl Marx Year," cited in footnote 33, is published in JPRS 83129, 24 Mar 83, No 2121 of this series, pp 10-29]

[Text] Dealing with literature and literary criticism always also served Marx and Engels as a weapon in the struggle for the political independence of the workers movement and its communist party and a literature appropriate to it. With reference to works by proletarian poets they formulated basic principles for class-bound artistic creation. They demanded unity of a high spiritual claim and a clear class standpoint between a militant art and an artistic manner of dealing with proletarian heroes with human and political qualities.

"Heinrich Heine, the most outstanding among all living German poets, has joined us and published a volume of political poetry which also contains some poems proclaiming socialism. He is the author of the famous song "Die schlesischen Weher" [The Silesian Weavers],"<sup>1</sup> so Engels triumphantly in November 1844 addressed an English weekly for which he translated the poem into English. Heine's "joining" had been preceded, late in December 1843, by Marx' acquaintance with the poet with whom he would soon come to maintain friendly ties. That actually marks the initial stage of socialist German literature. Heine published the satirical "Lobgesaenge auf Koenig Ludwig" [Panegyrics on King Ludwig] in the "Deutsch-Franzoesische Jahrbuecher" which were put out by Ruge and Marx and also contained early "Marxist" essays by Marx and Engels. In the months when he met with Marx almost daily, Heine authored his "Deutschland. Ein Wintermaerchen" [Germany--A Winter's Tale]. For extended passages it may be rated as the first great work to have introduced socialist ideas and ideals into German literature. Heine and Marx worked closely together at that time until Marx was expelled from Paris (1845). They would peruse a little poem of only a few lines innumerable times, "constantly discussing one word or another

and working and polishing it until everything was smooth and every trace of effort and polishing was removed from the poem."<sup>2</sup>

"Dearest Marx!" begins a letter in which Heine announces the dispatch of a flier for "Wintermaerchen" and discusses the details of the printing of excerpts in VORWAERTS, then under Marx' influence. "Please, write some words of introduction for these excerpts." Marx evidently thought that unnecessary, perhaps even inappropriate.

At that time Heine was stirred by moral and political considerations that might also suggest a poetic motivation: "The masses no longer bear their earthly misery with Christian forbearance and are thirsting for happiness on earth. Communism is a natural consequence of this shift in world-outlook; it is spreading all over Germany. An equally natural phenomenon it is that the proletarians in their assault on what exists have for their leaders the most advanced spirits, the philosophers of the great school; they are proceeding from doctrine to deeds, the final end of all thought, and are formulating the program."<sup>4</sup>

#### Linkage With Party Work

Marx' and Engels' joint efforts indicate their extensive and active concern with the literature of many ages and nations, including an imposing measure of essays and letters devoted particularly to literary criticism. Their dealing with literature and literary criticism always again serves them to understand the party struggles at hand and the matters of principle in the "real movement" behind penetrating historic transformations. A red thread runs through their criticism of Eugene Sue's novel "Mysteres de Paris," of Thomas Carlyle's essays, through the polemics against the poetry and prose of "true" socialism, the reviews in the journal NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG, the letters debating Ferdinand Lasalle's drama "Franz von Sickingen," the issue surrounding and with Ferdinand Freiligrath, the editorial recommendations for the illegal party organ DER SOZIALDEMOKRAT at the time of the emergency laws, all the way to the letters addressed to Minna Kautsky or Margaret Harkness: Literary criticism for Marx and Engels becomes a weapon in the struggle for the spiritual and political independence of the proletarian movement, for defending the revolutionary workers movement, and for Marxist party development.

Later Lenin would suggest to Maxim Gorki "to shed all intellectualized, seigneurial poses, which means tying also literary criticism up more closely with party work, with party leadership. That is what the experienced social-democratic parties in Europe do. And that is what we have to do as well, without being afraid of difficulties."<sup>5</sup> The cornerstone for that was laid by Marx and Engels. By the way, already between 1845 and 1848 they often use terms like "party literature" or "party author" and the like--if not completely in the later Leninist sense. Marx and Engels passionately advocated each and every truly revolutionary, proletarian, communist trend in literature and art that would help foster the political independence of the workers movement and the forming of a communist party in Germany. Without understanding this principle of class-bound and party-minded "sense of identity" and its sociohistoric, political and aesthetic implications, the spirit and fire of Marx' and Engels' art criticism are not fully understandable either.



Integrated with that revolutionary "sense of identity" closely linked with revolutionary party development is the literary appropriation of reality from the proletarian points of view. To the development of that Marx' and Engels' work also is devoted—in toto as well as in their specifically critical activity.

#### For the Proletarian Class Standpoint

In their endeavors on behalf of a socialist literature, Marx and Engels are pressing mainly for a clear class standpoint. It could not be a matter of what one worker or another, even the entire proletariat, for the time being imagined the goal should be. "It is a matter of finding what it is and what it will historically be compelled to do in terms of its own quiddity." One should constantly endeavor "to fashion in complete clarity" the awareness for the historic mission of the workers class.<sup>6</sup> That meant also insisting on it that all catchwords were removed that would weaken or dilute the awareness of the intensity of the existing class antagonisms.<sup>7</sup>

The socialist class standpoint demands of the intellectual representatives of the workers movement to work their way up to "understanding the whole historic movement."<sup>8</sup> In their "Circular Letter," Marx and Engels demand that intellectuals, to be of use to the proletarian movement, bring along for one thing "genuine elements of culture" and, furthermore, "unreservedly acquire proletarian perceptions."<sup>9</sup>

The interdependence between a clear class position and a high spiritual claim is emphasized once again later on in opposing the ambitions of authors in the ranks of or close to the semi-anarchistic "Young" fraction.

The scale of the mental appropriation of the historic movement is far more comprehensive still than then today under the conditions of real socialism. Then Marx and Engels opposed many bourgeois or petty bourgeois opinions interfering with the formation of a clear class standpoint.

The proletarian class position is always historically concrete--then as today. In the novel "City Girl" by M. Harkness the workers class was presented "as a passive mass unable to help itself." Engels granted that the actual passivity and real dulling of the masses of workers living in the deepest misery of London's East End might have detracted from looking at the militant proletariat. Yet he explained emphatically the measure set by real history: "Working class insurrection against the suppressive milieu around it, its attempt at regaining the status of human beings--convulsively, semiconsciously or consciously--is part of history and therefore must raise a claim to a spot in the field of realism."<sup>10</sup>

Thus there inheres in the position of socialist ideas--whatever mode of literary expression may be involved--an indispensable relation to reality that concerns not merely the appearances of reality. "We call communism the real movement that suspends the prevailing condition,"<sup>11</sup> as the "German Ideology" puts it. The consequence of all critical activity by Marx and Engels is that the thrust is directed at the literary-artistic appropriation of that "real movement."

The historically concrete form of the class standpoint is always tied up with the development of the consciousness of the "real movement," with the actual changes in reality and thus also with new intellectual demands by socialism and an analysis of its real problems. Embryonically the idea of an identity between the proletarian class position and socialist party-mindedness--which was later worked out by Lenin--makes its appearance in Marx and Engels. Conversely, Engels demonstrates with reference to Karl Beck how a poet who does not understand reality in this all-encompassing sense misses essential features of its development and "reflects too much on himself, on the poet writing his poetry." Many of these moderns pretending to be "true" socialists were "no active persons with a true footing in society who are doing poetry, but poets hovering in the clouds."<sup>12</sup> From that position then a theoretical author, as well as a poet, may appear as the one who "makes" a historic movement. "An author may of course serve as the organ of a historic movement but, naturally, he cannot 'make' one," Marx writes.<sup>13</sup> He may, profoundly and truthfully, become a "conscious product of the historic movement." Here Marx is drawing the functional dividing line that separates the "revolutionary" from the "doctrinaire" standpoint.<sup>14</sup>

Marx and Engels lived long enough to see how various "more or less timid utterances of an oppositional persuasion" mistake themselves as if they were in fact political action. They showed that confusing phrases with historic action, and subjective expressions of literary views with the objective movement of history, as found in the petty bourgeois aesthetic principle, leads to extreme subjectivism. An individual writing poetry there is convinced that all historic, political, moral, social and intellectual movement is personified in him. So he makes his persuasion the measure of the historic movement.

Marx and Engels demonstrated how much such subjectivistic and pretentious swagger goes hand in hand with an actual loss in poetic subjectivity, ability for experience and sense of reality, leading to the "romantic lie," the borrowing of the subjectivity of others, to cheap imitation.<sup>16</sup>

#### Combative Art

With reference to the utopian-communist popular novels, particularly Cabet's "Voyage en Icarie," Marx and Engels had rejected a "propaganda" function of literature in so far as it thought it could fulfil its task by some way of "clinging to" the fashionable "opinions about the class concerned."<sup>17</sup>

But when it came to the arousing song of the Silesian weavers' insurrection of 1844, "Das Blutgericht" [The Bloodletting Court], things became different. That, to Marx, is a "bold password for struggle through which the proletariat exclaims its opposition to the private property society in a striking, sharp, relentless and violent fashion."<sup>18</sup>

Marx' and Engels' view of the "propaganda function" of art, on its tasks to be a call to arms and a weapon, becomes most apparent in the attitude they took on Ferdinand Freiligrath. Back in 1847 Engels had still pitilessly commented on the poet's naive "provocations for revolution," inadequate as they were to reality.<sup>19</sup> But since then Freiligrath had matured more and more--not last under Marx' and Engels' influence--to become the "trumpeter of the revolution," as he was then celebrated in the history of the German workers movement for decades.

The time of his direct collaboration, especially on the editorial board of NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG, was his best productive period when he wrote imperishable poems that extolled the revolutionary struggle with enthusiasm. Freiligrath had the unforgettable privilege to have written for the final issue, printed in red, of the paper on 9 May 1849 the "Adieu of the NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG":

"Adieu--yet not forever adieu!  
Our spirit won't pass in demise!  
We soon shall be back in derring-do  
And shall rattle our chains and rise!"

Marx and Engels showed much concern for Freiligrath's work. That is revealed in a letter from Marx to Weydemeyer in New York that included a poem. The letter says this: "Our F[reiligrath] is the most amiable and unassuming man in private with a pathos that is 'genuine' without making him 'uncritical or superstitious.' He is a real revolutionary and a thoroughly honest man, a praise I would bestow on few others. Even so, a poet--he may be anything as an homme (Author: man)--needs applause, admiration. I believe that is given with the genre itself."<sup>20</sup>

Yet even during their direct collaboration and personal friendship Marx and Engels raised critical objections. Among them was this, that Freiligrath was not able to make his newly won political positions poetically fruitful in his overall personal position on reality. At times Marx and Engels were angry that vanity and promotion would sometimes mean more to that "Westphalian snuffle snout" than party interests. Conversely, Freiligrath--and that his friends chalked up against him too--could not fuse some of his personal values with the idea content of his socialist verse: neither traits of personal amiability or helpfulness nor humor, roguishness or joie de vivre. Even so, during an important era he was the outstanding poetic propagandist of the revolutionary workers movement. When he relapsed into the bourgeois and petty bourgeois literary routine, Marx and Engels still tried to hold him and fought for it when things actually already had become futile.

We should also refer here to SOZIALDEMOKRAT, the illegal central party organ at the time of the Anti-Socialist Laws. In 1882, the opportunist Ernst Breuel publicly railed against the revolutionary and consistent stance the paper<sup>21</sup> had been taking vis-a-vis allegedly "countless revolutionary songs." In answer to that, an editorial said: "All we can say is that--unfortunately--our revolutionary songs have been very much countable up to now. Especially in times of political pressure, a dashy and fiery poem often has more of an effect than the nicest lead article. It impresses itself more to be remembered, it gives sculptured expression to thought, it is carried forth, if it owns the proper features, from place to place, lifts up, inspires, and enraptures!"<sup>22</sup>

Marx and Engels much enjoyed the "courageous stand" of the paper "coming out resolutely against the hypocrisy and pusillanimity of Breuel and company."<sup>23</sup> They also enjoyed that readers everywhere backed the party organ against the "whimpering sissies."<sup>24</sup> Engels in this sense pointed several times to the binding lyrical legacy of Weerth's: "No nicer thing there's in the world than biting all one's enemies."<sup>25</sup>

Especially recalling the poetic legacy of Georg Weerth, very much wanted indeed, brings out clearly that it must not be by fanfare that something becomes an instrument of a militant, party-minded art. The margin is much broader. It embraces everything by which the emancipation struggle of the workers class (and, explicitly, also that of its allies) is strengthened, its historic sense of identity is enriched, and its understanding and moral sense of its historic liberating role are reinforced.

#### For the Whole Man

From the very start it was against Marx' and Engels' ideas to give poetic expression to workers merely as figurines for social ideas and political struggles. The historic role of the revolutionary proletariat was to receive as universal an expression as possible. Moralistic idealization Marx and Engels never bestowed on the working class. Together with an analysis of causes they also described the manifestations of demoralization among the workers, more in detail and sharper than many "social" novels did at that time.

They mainly called our attention however to ethical features which differentiates the workers from the bourgeois, a future-directed expression of their class situation and becoming prominent mainly by their uniting together: discipline and solidarity, tenacity and purposefulness in the struggle, humanism, unselfishness, anger and indignation about injustice, humor, friendliness, knowing no bias, an open mind about the facts of life and so forth. One should, Marx wrote "have known the eagerness for knowledge, the moral energy, the restless development drive of the French and English ouvriers to get an idea of the human nobility of that movement."<sup>26</sup> Their whole life long Marx and Engels fought against petty bourgeois narrow-mindedness and philistinism and the submissive meekness of obedient subjects: "Only since a modern proletariat formed in Germany, a class has developed there that has almost rid itself completely from that inherited plague and has shown an open mind, energy, humor and stubbornness in struggle."<sup>27</sup>

There is a laconic remark in one of Marx' letters made at a moment when all the difficulties of his life's pressures became crystal clear to him: "I laugh about the so-called 'practical' men and their wisdom. If one wanted to be an ox, one could of course turn one's back on mankind's torments and take care of one's own skin."<sup>28</sup> This expresses a basic credo of militant ethics. It is also interesting how seriously Marx toys with the "confessions" he asked his daughters for and himself "confesses":

"Their favorite virtue--simplicity; their chief feature--steady striving; their concept of happiness--struggle; their concept of unhappiness--subjection; their favorite maxim--Nihil humani a me alienum puto (nothing human is alien to me)."<sup>29</sup>

And it only suggests the width of proletarian ethics if Engels, who certainly takes the same game not so seriously, responds ironically, and with self-irony, and yet with much in the back of his mind, to the same series of questions: Gayety--to know half of everything, -- Chateau Margaux 1848 (a vintage) -- having to go to the dentist -- nothing wrong. When Marx had mentioned among his favorite pastimes browsing among books, Engels wrote: to tease and be teased. In answer to the question: your heroine? Marx wrote "Gretchen," and Engels: too many to mention but one.<sup>30</sup>



The workers movement is a political movement. It develops as the theoretically conscious and organized expression of the class interests of the proletariat. Yet it would mean misunderstanding it as a new historic type of political movement, were one to ignore that ultimately it gets its strength to carry out its political goals only from the dialectics between political organization and the "massive" development of human, personal qualities. Proletarian and socialist literature and art are committed to that wholeness. That distinguishes them essentially from the poetry and prose of the radical middle class and the petty bourgeoisie, out of the current of which indeed the early socialist literature in Germany arises and departs.

The artistic discovery of a wholeness of human and personal qualities that goes together with the proletarian movement first comes in the work of Weerth—the journeymen's songs, the Lancashire songs, the "English Workers' Flower Festival," and his revolutionary lyrics. This brings out not only the just described quality of the in the historic sense "new subject matter" of socialist literature. Rather, Weerth, in part directly picking up from Heine, most strongly represents that type of poetic subjectivity which the working class mainly needed to start with a significant socialist literature. When in 1883 Engels--on an already far more developed level of the workers movement--sought to reawaken the memory of Georg Weerth, he not by chance greatly emphasized his subjectivity and worked out the typological difference between Weerth's and Freiligrath's poetry. He writes that Weerth's socialist and political poems are "far superior to those of Freiligrath in originality, wit and, notably, in sensuousness."<sup>31</sup>

If Marx and Engels time and time again advocated a "sharp individualization of the characters," critically demanded the unity and interpenetration of social "representation" and individuality, calling for artistic figures that are at one and the same time a type yet also a specific individual, a "this one," how the old Hegel put it—then both sides within this dialectical unity are factors in the social specificity of a new type of man as born in the social struggles of the workers class.<sup>32</sup>

The hour for a broad realization of this type of man comes not until real socialism. Here takes place—also through the opportunities of literature and art--and becomes real what the SED Central Committee theses for the Karl Marx Year come down to: "The birth of real socialism brought a society where politics and social practice, ideology, culture and morality are the best expression of human ideals and humanity's aspirations in our era. Led by its Marxist-Leninist party through harsh class struggles, the working class has complied wholly with Marx' intentions in overthrowing 'all relations in which man is a debased, enslaved, forsaken, despicable being' so that man really can become 'the highest being for man.' . . . . By building socialism and later communism, the working class, together with its allies, creates that economic form of society which, as Marx wrote, 'ensures, together with the greatest expansion of the productive forces of social labor, the most complete development of man.'<sup>33</sup> The arts are an indispensable and conscious element of this historic movement.



# FOOTNOTES

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16. Cf. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, "The Great Men of Exile," "Werke," Vol 8, p 243.
17. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, "The German Ideology," "Werke," loc. cit., p 448.
18. Karl Marx, "Critical Marginalia on the Article 'The King of Prussia and Social Reform, from a Prussian,'" Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 1, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 404.

19. Cf. Friedrich Engels, "The True Socialists," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 4, pp 279-280.
20. "Marx to Joseph Weydemeyer," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 28, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1963, p 475.
21. Cf. also "Das Sozialistengesetz 1878-1890," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1980, p 119.
22. DER SOZIALDEMOKRAT, 26 January 1882.
23. "Engels to August Bebel," "Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 35, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1967, p 322.
24. "Engels to Eduard Bernstein," *ibid.*, p 312.
25. Georg Weerth, "Gedichte, Prosa," Aufbau publishing house, Berlin, 1960, p 71.
26. Friedrich Engels and Karl Marx, "The Holy Family," *loc. cit.*, p 89.
27. "Engels to Eduard Bernstein," *loc. cit.*, p 443.
28. "Marx to Sigfrid Meyer," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 31, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1965, p 542.
29. "Mohr und General," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1964, p 607.
30. Cf. *ibid.*, pp 607 ff.
31. Friedrich Engels, "Georg Weerth, the First and Foremost Poet of the German Proletariat," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 21, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 7.
32. "Engels to Minna Kautsky," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 36, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1967, p 393.
33. "SED Central Committee Theses on the 1983 Karl Marx Year," EINHEIT, No 1, 1983, p 22.

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GOETHE'S WORK SEEN 'INTEGRATED IN COMMUNIST EDUCATION'

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 38 No 3/4, Mar-Apr 83 (signed to press 18 Feb 83) pp 344-350

[Article by Dr Wolfgang Heise, professor of history and aesthetics, Department of Aesthetics/Art Studies, Humboldt University, East Berlin: "On Marx' Understanding of Goethe." For a contrasting view of Goethe's work see translation of an East Berlin WEIMARER BEITRAEGE article by Dr Heinz Hamm, published under the heading, "Scholar's 'Faust' Interpretation Ignores Official View of Goethe," in JPRS 82758, 28 Jan 83, No 2101 of this series, pp 31-50]

[Text] The young Marx, acquiring his dialectic-materialistic philosophy, was influenced by creatively coming to grips with Goethe's humanistic ideal aimed at practical action. Points of contact between Goethe's concept of the self-reliance and liberation of the Promethean individual and Marx' theory of the proletariat as the grave digger of capitalism and creator of a new society. The elective affinity between Goethe's principle of incessant human and historic advance and Marx' scientific argument about the communist future.

Marx was familiar with world literature. In "Goethe, Lessing, Shakespeare, Dante, Cervantes, whom he read almost every day, he had chosen what to him were his supreme masters,"<sup>1</sup> as Wilhelm Liebknecht told us about Marx' literary models. His interests ranged from Homer and the Greek tragedians via the 18th century realism of the Enlightenment, Fielding and Diderot to the realistic novels of the 19th century. The literary horizon paralleled the international historic one. To Marx, world literature was part of communist culture, not as an ornament but as an essential component--on account of its quality and its international and humanistic substance. To him it was a vital need.

That Marx read, loved and revered Goethe all his life, is well known. "Heine and Goethe, whom he often quoted, he knew by heart,"<sup>2</sup> Lafargue reports. "'Faust' was his favorite German poem," Liebknecht tells us.<sup>3</sup> Marx' work is full of Goethe quotations and allusions, ranging from familiar quotations to the use of whole passages from "Faust" and "Reineke Fuchs." He mocks Goethe critics from Pustkuchen to Kinkel, but even a Daumer, who turned Goethe into a religious thinker.<sup>4</sup> The theoretician of communism refers to "Father Goethe"<sup>5</sup> and made sure his daughters would own and read his works. For satirical put-downs, Goethe quotations were used with special joy.

That was not a blinding love, however. The refashioning of Goethe into a "true socialist" made Marx and Engels indignant, nor were they too timid to criticise--be it Hermann's probity in "Hermann und Dorothea" or Wilhelm Meister's courting the aristocracy. As such, we can hardly imagine the matter of course and familiarity in Marx' relation to Goethe, a relation instilling no doubt in his own sensed value judgments. "As to Goethe, to Marx and Engels he was the Hegel of world poetry,"<sup>6</sup> the Soviet aesthetician Mikhael Lifshits once said, and that hits the mark, as long as we remain aware of the difference between poetry and philosophy.

#### Action and the Here Below

Two basic motives of Goethe show up in poems by the young Marx, apart from linguistic reminiscences. Marx, as his contemporaries, experienced the Faust problem as his own question in life. We can find that in the poem "Empfindungen" [Sentiments] that expresses Marx' storm and stress:

"Let us venture, let us dare,  
never idle nor distraught  
sitting down in dull despair,  
wanting nothing, doing nought.

Let's not brood over the mire,  
timid in our servitude,  
let all yearning and desire  
be through energy renewed."<sup>7</sup>

The language echoes cannot be missed. The classic Goethean ideal aimed at practical action shapes the expression of young Marx who rebelliously seeks to break out of the philistinism of German submissive impotence. Then Goethe becomes the subject of two sonnets in which he is celebrated as a "divine" singer and Olympian. To me the following alternatives seem crucial:

"Down to earth he will not pull the sky  
but make earthly fire glow up high."<sup>8</sup>

The philosophic motive is characteristic in the contrast posed and the thrust of the motion. Then one can follow the clues: from turning the criticism of heaven into the criticism of the earth--in his "Introduction to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right"--all the way to the programmatic statements in the "German Ideology": "Totally in contrast to German philosophy, which descends from heaven to earth, here we climb from the earth to heaven."<sup>9</sup> What first seems to be an occasional metaphor turns into a philosophic code which--proceeding from the general basic thrust--became a metaphor for the precisely definable substance of the liberation from religion and idealism and for the materialistic account of the world.

Two motives: the deed, active living, and an unconditional concern for the here below, the place for action. This connection pertains to Goethe as well as Marx and logically embraces the view of the world and the self, the objective and the subjective, the "active" side.



Goethe poetry was a ferment in the process that formed the world-outlook of the young Marx. It helped him rid himself of religious ties; it provided him, in a poetic way, with the monistic view on the unity of man and nature in conjunction with a concept of nature that was evolutionary and dialectic. It helped give him his idea of artistic productivity so he could use it as a model for free, unalienated work in uniting inner necessity with extreme effort and activity of the self.

One knows of the fundamental importance of the critique of religion as the starting point for all critique in the young Marx. The religious dependence is a model case to him for the alienation effect altogether, in which the products of human action come to dominate the producers and take on a life of their own in relation to them. Feuerbach's materialism gave Marx the idea for proceeding from the idealism of Hegel and the Young Hegelians toward materialism. What Feuerbach had formulated in theory, Engels summarizes in his first argument against Carlyle: "All that is also found in Goethe, the 'prophet,' and anyone with his eyes open can read it there, . . . this emancipation of art from the fetters of religion simply is what Goethe's greatness amounts to."<sup>10</sup> In Goethe, the critique of religion leads from "Prometheus" and "Werther" to "Faust," as in the "Prelude in the Theatre": "Who stabilishes Olympus, peoples it with Gods? The strength of men, in poets become flesh."<sup>11</sup>

That marks a connection that stems from the Enlightenment, a cognitional continuity with the emancipation. In Marx' positive formulation of the new position--as to its basic monistic-materialistic concept--the echo of Goethe sounds again and again.

#### The Materialist Consciousness of Reality

"Real physical man, solidly grounded on the well rounded earth, exhaling and inhaling all forces of nature, a living and natural and a gifted being, equipped with embodied, i.e., essential material capacities, objectivated and creating because it is posited through objects because, per se, it is of nature."<sup>12</sup> That not only reminds us of "Grenzen der Menschheit" [Limits of Humanity], where man stands "with solid and strong bones on the well established permanent earth,"<sup>13</sup> it also points to the concept of nature in "Faust," the world of the earth spirit, and the Tobler fragment.<sup>14</sup>

It also contains Goethe's realistic sense of reality: "Man has been placed, as a reality, amidst a real world and been endowed with organs through which he can understand and create the real, and the possible on the side, too. All healthy people are certain of their existence and of existence surrounding them."<sup>15</sup> Which makes of Goethe's poetic program the purpose of "lending a poetic form to the real," as Merck put it.\*

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\*Johann Heinrich Merck (1741-1791), author and critic, a friend of Goethe.

The overriding unity of nature as a universal, dynamic context includes man as a part of itself, as its product and active transforming agent. "That the physical and mental life of man hangs together with nature," Marx writes, "only means that nature hangs together with itself, for man is a part of nature."<sup>17</sup> Let us compare that with the remark of the young Goethe in his "Physiognomic Fragments," at a time when Prometheus recognizes in opposition to his own acts only time and fate--i.e. natural necessity: "What surrounds man not only affects him, he also again affects it, and while he lets himself be modified, he again modifies everything around him. Nature forms man, he transforms himself, and yet such transformation again is natural; finding himself placed in the big wide world, he fences and walls his own little one in, fashions it according to his image."<sup>18</sup> Behind that stands Herder's great concept of the unity of nature and history in the evolutionary process which he then developed in his "Ideas About the Philosophy of History of Mankind," which Goethe then of course divested of its moralism. Behind it stands the tradition of pantheism fused with the evolutionary thoughts of the Enlightenment. This nature, all in one, includes man as an active force.

In Marx, the pantheistic integument has burst, and labor is understood as a metabolism between man and nature which man provides, regulates and controls through his own action. History appears as man's true natural history who, "while he affects and modifies nature outside himself, modifies his own nature as well."<sup>19</sup> The pivot of these changes lies in the inevitability of relations men enter into with nature and production, hence, in the dialectics between the productive forces and production relations, from which one again understands the inevitability in the progression of societies.

It shows how much of a nodal point in cognition came to Marx by his understanding and comprehending the workers class and its politically independent thrust. Through that he understood the role of the material production and of the producers of society's material life. At the same time it should be apparent that the general prerequisite for all that was the monism that Marx resolutely couched in the materialistic sense, which includes human practice and relations. Before Marx came to formulate it conceptually, it was, at least, present in Goethe's work as a view acting in the aesthetic sense, and that remained so.

From the idea of the objectivity and universality of nature stems the conviction of the primacy of the objective, the real, over against the subjective in the sense of the thought, the wanted and the known. By way of persiflage, to hit at the subjective idealism of people like Bauer and Stirner, Marx quotes Goethe. He comes back twice to the debate between Faust and Mephisto in the Study--in the "Holy Family" and in the "German Ideology." It shows Mephisto in impotent rage and the rage of his impotence:

"Annihilation's forces meet resistance  
From something coarse asserting its existence.  
I toil away, endure through thick and thin,  
But never really get beneath its skin."<sup>20</sup>

Feeling superior to Mephisto, Faust regards him with irony; and this superiority anticipates the antagonist's future defeat. In Marx, with reference to Stirner and Bauer, that becomes a humoristic-satirical persiflage of the subjectivistic illusions and speculations and the grotesque pretense of "self-awareness" as contrasted with objective reality and its movement subject to empirical exploration. That they both opposed subjective idealism explains all these quotes.

### The Dialectics of History

Goethe's poetry of the universal and individual "die and be born," its encoded historicism inherent in it, be it direct or symbolic-allegorical, nature becoming history, anticipates a quite general disposition toward the dialectics of history, from which Marx also gained. This dialectics is as general as it is intuitive, or perceptual. It cannot be reduced to such sentences as that everything that exists deserves to perish, or reason turns nonsense, good deed a pain; it rather provides a predisposition for catching such contradictions and processes in their reality and articulating them generally as experience.

In the relation between Faust and Mephisto, in Faust's road through all his shipwreck, in the relation between the tragic and the comical, in the conception of an upward course through destruction and tragedies, the renewal and continuation of the struggle at an ever higher plain, in the entwined and encoded presentation of the relation between the sexes, in the deep conviction that there can be no going back to any kind of past, we find the historic dialectics, and more indeed than is grasped by Goethe's concepts of polarity and intensification.

Marx' dialectics for the development of the human productive forces under their various historic conditions provides a future-oriented answer to the problems that pervade Goethe's work: The dialectics of the contradiction between subjective productivity as a vital function and the social relations that condition, facilitate, confine and reverse that productivity in the shift from the feudal to the capitalist society. So much for the unity of subjective and social-objective problems. Goethe's work is a spiritual act of awareness and articulation of this contradiction which it resolves individually, diagnoses in its social quality, and explores in its thrust, the variety of human activities and the social interactions with reference to individuals as to the social order: as engaging and articulating and arousing the subjective life-giving capacities. That can be found in Prometheus' rebellion through Wilhelm Meister's travels and apprenticeship all the way to Faust.

Both Goethe and Marx catch the guideline for historic connections and future prospects in human productivity, in the historically evolving capacity for creating the world and oneself, the transformation of nature as of the human way of life, much as this productivity, for Goethe, is founded in nature. The poet makes man's strength manifest, its reality and potential. And to Goethe the actual problem was that creative subjectivity must stand up to resistance and negation, must become real under social realization conditions and against them, that will either suffocate or stunt it or estrange it from its goals and let it unfold by itself as human creativity through human sacrifice.

Both Goethe and Marx insist on and affirm the freeing and unfolding of these individual capacities in their social and communal essence and still understand the antagonistic forms, the contradictions and catastrophes in their direction, both in their historic givens and inevitability and in their being temporary, so that they can conceive of their contemporary society as a passing moment in an indefinite perspective of emancipation, the humanization prospect. The dialectics in both world-outlooks makes possible combining the active affirmation of life with an awareness of the hecatombs of victims social life is devouring while advancing under antagonistic conditions. Only remember Marx' description of "human progress" under such conditions resembling "that abominable pagan idol that wants to drink its nectare only from the skulls of the slain."<sup>21</sup> And remember how Goethe has the jubilant hymn to life, the tower warden's song in "Faust," collapse into wailing and horror. To neither of them this is the final word, the last configuration of historic advances. Through the poetic force of the end of Faust, Goethe gains the assurance of the human capacity for forming and creating as a guarantee for an open future. Marx, two generations younger, decodes out of capitalism the possibility and need for communism. One does it through images and symbols, the other through concepts and developmental theory. One designs a mirror to hold up to his age, the other one makes the class struggle of the workers movement aware of the logic and conditions of the struggle.

From this relationship with reality oriented to an active, "full human life," grows Goethe's "in the beginning was the deed" with this confession being formulated: "For a man I have been, and that means to be a fighter." This relation eventually congeals in the aversion to any sort of pleasure taken from impotence, be it under a religious-positive or desparate-aestheticizing signature, or also to plunging down into a bewailed or transfigured yet wretched philistinism. Here Goethe conforms with Marx' opposition to all restoration of romanticism, quietism and sentimentality.

Politically, Goethe's roots lay in the ancien regime, in the historically obsolete and crisis-ridden German absolutism. He was no political revolutionary nor a bourgeois liberal or democrat. But as to his identification, he was neither at home in the feudal nor in capitalist society. Turning him into a socialist would be absurd. And yet he saw the social antagonisms. Remember the song of the Emmets and Daktyls:

"Who now will save us?  
 Iron we get to  
 Chains to enslave us.  
 Time is not yet to  
 Show us defiant,  
 Therefore be pliant!"<sup>22</sup>

No one can free the ones that make iron. The word "yet" suggests there is a sense of a time, a future, when defiance will be on the agenda. A phantasmagorical natural event, as the work continues, then buries the quarreling parties. Yet that does not suspend the implacability glimpsed between allegorically disguised social contradictions.



So it makes sense that Marx, in his elective affinity to Goethe, had recourse to him when he put the "upside-down world" of money under scrutiny by quoting Mephisto's words (in the "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts"), laughed with Goethe and his Reineke Fuchs about the German conditions--without any transfiguration of Goethe's own philistine traits that were a tribute to those very conditions or his ritualization of life; that he held the sentence "Only scoundrels show humility" up against the Prussian censorship instruction and keeps quoting from Goethe over and over again. It makes sense that he, who with his generation found "Faust" to be the cultural event of the age, did not, as did his contemporaries, elevate him to a bourgeois cult figure within a spectrum ranging from bourgeois democratism all the way to nationalism, but integrated him vividly in communist culture. A key point of it is that--apart from the language forming factors--points of contact are there in the dialectics of viewing reality, Marx meeting Goethe in the concept of evolving human creative capabilities as ends in themselves and factors for the development of a future society within the context of those inevitabilities that Goethe, to be sure, conceived merely in natural-universal terms while Marx caught them in their social specificity. Common to both was that they found the specific and actual human achievement in productive action, active forming and creating, and conceived from there the historic context of the species. Goethe was the one who found the sense of human life not in some transcendence or an ideal, comforting final state, but in human productivity in an unending process of contradictory change and growth--as likewise, to Marx, communism is not an idyllic end terminal of history, a paradisaical final goal, but a new point of departure.

And so the Faust landscape is alive in Marx' work--productively modified. It marks a deeper layer of consciousness that determines his evaluations and his imagining the truth of the real. Not that we insist here on a new theoretical source of Marxism, we only wanted to draw attention to the imagery and linguistic treasure that became part and parcel of the subjective epistemological and value forming prerequisites for Marx' accomplishments. Not that we want to project Marx into Goethe or Goethe into Marx, yet Goethe does play a productive role in the work of Marx. Also in personal terms.

Seriously ill, on 28 May 1862, one year before he died, Marx wrote a letter to his daughter Eleanor from Monte Carlo. In it he makes satiric remarks about the Offenbach world of gamblers, talks about health matters, the risk to catch a cold and then quite naturally, and as an aside, it says with a mixture of mirth and wistfulness: "That Goethe, when he applauds a man for 'shedding' the old snakeskin, he is not likely to include artificially produced false skins in the rejuvenation process."<sup>23</sup>

Marx knew he would no longer rejuvenate himself. But Goethe is present to him, he is who he lives with, the esteemed model for his own life, and that he also assumes to be so for his daughter. The reference is to one of the "Tame Xenias":

"The enemies keep you at bay, more and more so day after day,  
yet you feel no chagrin, it does not cause me any dread,  
they're tearing on the serpent's skin  
which recently I shed. And when the next one has matured  
that too I shall dismiss  
to dwell revived and reassured  
among the gods, in bliss."<sup>24</sup>



Marx bequeathed to us no explicit Goethe image. And our understanding of Goethe has come down to us through Marx' cognitive achievement. His relation to Goethe exemplifies how the poet's accomplishment of old can be suspended, sustained and rendered productive while life goes on.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Wilhelm Liebknecht, "Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels ueber Kunst und Literatur" (Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels on Art and Literature), Vol 1, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1967, p 26.
2. Paul Lafargue, *ibid.*, p 19.
3. Wilhelm Liebknecht, *ibid.*, pp 27-28.
4. Cf. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, "Reviews from NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG, POLITISCH-OEKONOMISCHE REVUE, Issue 2 February 1850," "Werke" (Works), Vol 7, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1982, 1982, pp 198 ff.
5. "Marx to Ludwig Kugelmann," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 32, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1965, p 663.
6. Michail Lifschitz, "Karl Marx und die Aesthetik," VEB Verlag der Kunst, Dresden, 1967, p 159.
7. Karl Marx, "Book of Love, Part Two," Marx/Engels, "Gesamtausgabe" (Complete Collected Works), First Section, Vol 1, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1975, p 536.
8. Karl Marx, "Poems of 1835-1836," *ibid.*, p 718.
9. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, "The German Ideology," "Werke," Vol 3, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1958, p 26.
10. Friedrich Engels, "The Situation of England—'Past and Present' by Thomas Carlyle," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 1, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 547.
11. Goethe, "Faust," lines 156-157.
12. Karl Marx, "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844," Marx/Engels, "Werke," supplement volume, first part, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1968, p 577.
13. Goethe, "Werke," Vol 1 (Poems)
14. Cf. Goethe, Jubilaeums Ausgabe, Vol 39, Stuttgart and Berlin, pp 347 ff.
15. Goethe, Berliner Ausgabe, Vol 18, Aufbau Verlag, Berlin and Weimar, 1972, p 513.
16. *Ibid.*, Vol 13, 1960, p 776.

17. Karl Marx, "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844," loc. cit., p 516.
18. Goethe, Berliner Ausgabe, Vol 19, 1973, pp 40-41.
19. Karl Marx, "Capital," Vol 1, Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 23, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 192.
20. Goethe, "Faust," lines 1363-1366.
21. Karl Marx, "The Future Results of British Rule in India," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 9, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1960, p 226
22. Goethe, "Faust," Part II, Act 2 (Classical Walpurgis Night).
23. "Marx to his Daugher Eleanor," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 35, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1967, p 328.
24. Goethe, Berliner Ausgabe, Vol 1, p 703.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

'IDYLIC' TREATMENT OF WORKERS IN FICTION CRITICIZED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 45, 23 Mar 83 'iwe-kultur' supplement

[Report from Berlin: "SED Warns Against Idealization of 'Ordinary Worker' in Literature." A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] The SED now has taken exception to the workers not being portrayed as the "ruling class" in the more recent GDR literature. Much as it was to be recognized that many authors had turned to the worker's ordinary day in material production, "that alone is not enough," as the most recent edition of the theoretical party journal EINHEIT (No 3/4, 1983) stated. That also should have to be presented "as part of the class that exercises power with all the problems in everyday struggle arising from it." EINHEIT deplored that in the books written in the 1970's one could hardly any longer find workers in economic, political and social management functions. Many authors evidently reduced "the workers class exclusively to people physically engaged in production." Too little was made of its being "the ruling class of our society that carries on socialist production." Instead, in some books the naturalness and moral values of the "plain worker" were given idyllic treatment and--more or less clearly put--"played off against allegedly less worthy attitudes by other representatives of the workers class."

EINHEIT asserted that, in view of this and other problems, one should "definitely review" the GDR authors' forms and methods in dealing with their subject matter under the diversified conditions developing in socialist society. The writers association, publishing houses and literary journals could have a "helpful and supportive influence on this process." There were still inexhausted opportunities here all the way to spending time in the production and management sectors. Decisive were however "the authors' subjective responsibility itself and their seeking individual access to this part of reality."

GDR Writers Union Official's Critique

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 38 No 3/4, Mar-Apr 83 (signed to press 18 Feb 83) pp 351-357

[Article by Dr Marianne Krümey, Berlin Bezirk Association, GDR Writers Union: "The Workers Class in Our Literature." A translation of the "SED Central Committee Theses on the 1983 Karl Marx Year," cited in footnote 2, is published in JPRS 83129, 24 Mar 83, No 2121 of this series, pp 10-29]

[Text] The socialist character of our literature, manifest in the variety of its themes, subjects, styles, forms and modes of presentation, is marked to a significant degree by presenting the workers class as the creator and leading force of the new society. What results has our fiction had in aesthetically coping with these problems and which requirements are confronting it?

"If you want to enjoy the arts, you must have artistic sensitivity, and if you want to influence other people, you must be a person who can stimulate and encourage other people. Every relationship to man--and to nature--must be a distinct expression of your real individual life in conformity with the object of your will."

Karl Marx

An important principle behind creating the art of socialist realism in the GDR lies in gaining access to the whole range and all manifestations of life for aesthetic treatment. No domain of our life, no sector in which the people in our society live together, no stirring of life can be immaterial to art--as Comrade Kurt Hager once put it.\*

At the same time our party always again underscores the portrayal of workers and the presentation of the workers class as the spiritual and aesthetic core for further progress in art. This emphatic orientation toward the workers class as our aesthetic and literary subject matter derives from its world historic role, proven by Karl Marx, from its being called on "to eliminate the capitalist mode of production, build the socialist society and, hence, abolish exploitation and suppression altogether."\*\* Wholly in this sense, as the creator of socialist society, the workers class, as the leading force, to a crucial extent determines the process of social development in our country. This focus on an aesthetic presentation of the workers class arises furthermore from its cultural policy traditions and the Marxist-Leninist concept of the active role played by art and literature in the class struggle.

#### The Traditions of Our Literature

Since the workers class entered history and formed its scientific world-outlook that Marx and Engels had established, the literature of the new class also has been evolving. Writers stemming from the workers class and progressive bourgeois authors taking their place alongside the proletariat described the living conditions and the revolutionary struggle of the working class and helped spread and enforce its ideology and ethical ideas.

\*Cf. "ON SED Cultural Policy Matters," "Beitraege zur Kulturpolitik" (Contributions to Cultural Policy), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 41.

\*\*"SED Central Committee Theses on the 1983 Karl Marx Year," EINHEIT, No 1, 1983, p 11.

Already in the mid-19th century the proletariat makes his appearance in literature, fully aware of his own strength and of the historic role of his class, in poems by Heinrich Heine, Georg Herwegh, Ferdinand Freiligrath, Georg Weerth and other poets in the reactionary period leading to the 1848 Revolution. With the rise of the international workers movement early in this century a number of writers stood up as spokesmen for the workers class in world literature. They described not only the misery and exploitation of the proletariat, as the bourgeois-humanistic, naturalistic and critical-realistic authors had done, but presented the proletarian revolution and the class struggle as the only possible solution for the ever more intense contradictions. Such authors as Upton Sinclair, Jack London, Henri Barbusse, Martin Anderson Next critically affected through their books the awareness also of large sectors of the German revolutionary workers class. Together with the authors of the young Soviet literature (Maxim Gorki, Vladimir Mayakovski, Isaak Babel, Fedor Gladkov and others), they became the models of the proletarian revolutionary movement in Germany in the 1920's and 1930's.

Marx and Engels had called for an art that would serve the working class in its gaining a sense of identity in its social and political emancipation and would not merely be satisfied with descriptions of proletarian misery. Lenin further developed that idea of the artist's party-mindedness in his article, "Party Organization and Party Literature," in working out the revolutionary artists' deliberately joining the ranks of the general proletarian cause as well as the determined ideological leadership for literature by the Marxist working class party as an inevitability behind the socialist revolution. Understanding the social and ideological function of literature was bound to lead to a special focus on the workers class. That class made the critical historic moves to abolish capitalist conditions; in it the new features and values of socialist men formed. Working class representatives in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism, fascism and war became the new society's and its perspective's representatives. Authors like Johannes R. Becher, Bertolt Brecht, Willi Bredel, Anna Seghers, Erich Weinert or Friedrich Wolff have given evidence to that in many of their highly skilled writings. Their names are forever linked with the tradition of proletarian-revolutionary and socialist literature.

Our party's orientation after the liberation from fascism was to pick up this valuable legacy of Marxist-Leninist cultural development and tie the writers into the life of the workers class. Literature faced historical social change. The workers class seized power and turned from an exploited and suppressed into the ruling and leading class, and it became, different from the way it had been under capitalism, the main political and social force of social progress. It now governed all essential social processes, from establishing socialist power to the shaping of the developed socialist society. It is the "intellectual and moral impulse, the physical executor"\* for the abolition of the capitalist and the construction of the socialist society. It is as "the class that is largest in numbers and produces the largest part of society's material values, the shaper and user of socialist progress, the leading and executive social force, the producing and ruling class."\*\*

\*V. I. Lenin, "Karl Marx," "Werke" (Works), Vol 21, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1960, p 60.

\*\*Siegfried Grundmann, Manfred Loetsch and Rudi Weidig, "Zur Entwicklung der Arbeiterklasse und ihrer Struktur in der DDR" (On the Development of the Workers Class and Its Structure in the GDR), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 10.



Literature gets its priorities from this historic leadership role of the workers class. For that reason the party documents always combine the need for giving artistic expression to the workers class as the leading social force with the concept of "artistic progress."\* Without slighting in the least the contribution of literary works dealing with the human destinies and developments of other social classes and strata, characters of the working class (or of the class of the cooperative farmers) have in a particular way become the milestones of socialist literature in the GDR. Such works of fiction--and the present contribution deals only with them--often for the first time advanced to the core of new social problems.

An example of it in the 1950's is the figure of the worker Hans Aehre in Eduard Claudius' novel "Menschen an unserer Seite" [Men on Our Side]. That is the outstanding book among a whole number of books the authors of which (Willi Bredel, Maria Langner, Hans Marchwitza and others) began the literary conquest of a new area of human life--the domain of material production in the GDR society, free from exploitation. In the early 1960's literature again faced crucial revolutionary changes. In the GDR socialism now started to unfold on its own foundations. The new conflicts the working class had to cope with in managing the state and the economy wanted to be dealt with in literature. The quest for socialist features and attitudes evolving above all in and through work--including also the agricultural cooperatives--and the problems in the construction of the socialist society by the working class in power are the subjects of many books, such as Erik Neutsch's "Spur der Steine" [Traces of Stones] or Erwin Strittmatter's "Ole Bienkopp." Hermann Kant, in his "Aula," in describing the course of development of the socialist intelligentsia evolving out of the proletariat, deals with a most fundamental and essential feature of our society. In other books the figures of workers dominate that have to pass their test as managers, scientists and official functionaries. An important phase in the literary appropriation of this subject matter is marked in the late 1960's by Benito Wogatzki's prose--principally by his television plays. There the working class is shown primarily on the state and economic management level. It is shown as the class that produces and exercises power and meets the demands of the scientific-technical revolution and of socialist conditions. Thereby the author seeks to trace, and in his writing cope with, an essential developmental level of the GDR workers class and its human conflicts.

#### Workers as Portrayed in More Recent Works

In the 1970's, with the continued successful shaping of the developed socialist society, primarily workers from various sectors of material production become the models for literary figures. Not a few authors, often relying on thorough research in that vital area, described the biographies of specific workers in great detail with their characteristics, views and habits. A good example of it is Joachim Nowotny's novel "Ein gewisser Robel" [A Certain Robel]. There a circa 40-year-old truck driver, working in construction, a first-generation worker in many ways still tied to his village environment, is shown and caught in the variety of his vital relations. By writing that way, the author also engages in polemics against

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\*Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 108.

a treatment of workers that is all too abstract and reduced merely to socio-political class characteristics. Nowotny wants originality and individual accuracy in portraying a worker clearly defined by his social and local circumstances.

By the same method Jan Koplowitz describes a brigade of young mining volunteers in his "Sumpfhuehner" [Moorhens], and that also includes the oil workers in Helmut H. Schulz' "Der Springer" [The Jumper], the old foreman in the chemical shop in Martin Stephan's "Bankett fuer Achilles," the same author's printing worker in the portray "Ich will nicht leise sterben" [I Won't Die Quietly], as well as the "Kernbauer" report by Ursula Pueschel. These literary accounts are above all influenced by the decisive qualitative changes in the lifestyle and internal structure of the workers class in the evolution of the socialist society in the 1960's. Often through polemics against the trends of a superficial harmonization of life and stimulated by the reality-oriented policy of the Eighth SED Congress, authors developed a special literary predilection for portraying the life of the workers as realistically as possible.

These books make identical statements about how workers feel in the GDR: the sense of being needed for a significant social cause, the collectivity and helpfulness among the workers themselves, the perception to belong firmly to a group of people who are tied to one another by their work and joint experiences. There are detailed accounts of the workers' family relations, leisure time habits, favorite occupations, and their appropriation of art. Their joie de vivre and the sensuous sides of their lives are often given special emphasis. At the same time, however, it also becomes apparent that many of these workers depend on the stage of productive force development and the heavy physical and monotonous labor that exacts from them.

The working class process of appropriating the literature goes through the dialectic unity of gain and loss. The gain in those years clearly is clearly in depicting the individual worker with his rich and diverse individual features. This gives literary expression to the new quality of working life in our society through an unprecedented wealth of treatments. Such an accomplishment cannot be appreciated highly enough. But losses in the total literary picture of the working class also become apparent. Often the various sides in a worker's individuality are presented in a relatively static and extraneous manner. Hardly ever are these figures shown within a conflict-rich social process of flux or put before situations that would challenge them as a political force. (A particular instance in these years in Joachim Knappe's novel "Die Birke da oben" [The Birch Up There], where a worker under the impact of the postwar period becomes class-minded.) Much as it is to be recognized that many authors have turned to the worker's ordinary day in material production, that alone is not enough. He should also be presented as part of the class that exercises power with all the problems in everyday struggle arising from it. Workers in economic, political and social management functions are hardly encountered any longer (except perhaps for Dieter Noll's "Kippenberg" or Herbert Otto's novel "Die Sache mit Maria" [The Business With Maria]).

Many authors evidently reduce the workers class exclusively to people physically engaged in production. Too little is made of its being the ruling class of our society that carries on socialist production. Instead, in some books the

naturalness and moral values of the "plain worker" are given idyllic treatment and are--more or less clearly put--played off against allegedly less worthy attitudes by other representatives of the workers class.

By way of summary, there are most vivid figures of workers in the books of the 1970's, and the working class is presented mainly as the laboring and producing class. But that it is at the same time the class that exercises power is not yet given appropriate expression.

#### Figures of Workers of the Past and Present

Typical of the accounts given of the workers class in the late 1970's and early 1980's is their addressing the beginnings of GDR history. Figures of workers are mainly shown in the "time change" from fascism to the new antifascist-democratic and the socialist beginning, in the postwar period or in the 1950's. That is true of such books as Horst Bastian's "Gewalt und Zärtlichkeit" [Violence and Tenderness], third volume 1981, Rolf Floss' "Tanzstunden eines jungen Mannes" [Dancing Lessons for a Young Man], 1979, Harry Kampling's "Der Mann aus der Siedlung" [The Man from the Settlement], 1981, Hermann Kant's "Der Aufenthalt" [The Stay], 1977, Erik Neutsch's "Friede im Osten" [Peace in the East], 1974 and 1978, Juergen Ritschel's "Barackencarlos" [Carlos of the Barracks], 1981, Helmut Sakowski's "Verflucht und geliebt" [Cursed and Loved], 1981, Max Walter Schulz' "Der Soldat und die Frau" [The Soldier and the Woman], 1978 and "Die Fliegerin oder Aufhebung einer stummen Legende" [The Aviatrix or the Suspension of a Quiet Myth], 1981, Bernhard Seeger's "Der Harmonikaspieler" [The Harmonica Player], 1981, and Benito Wogatzki's "Das Narrenfell" [The Fool's Skin], 1982.

The beginnings of our development are reworked and re-evaluated from the ripened and sovereign position of socialist society. Now fiction is interested in how particular individuals came to grips with the historic rise of the class. The conflicts are sharper, the internal changes of men are more deeply probed, the world of perception is grasped in a more differentiated fashion, and the episodes are more penetrating and show a greater poetic and ideational strength of expression. Especially in Hermann Kant's "Der Aufenthalt" and in the two stories mentioned by Max Walter Schulz, the beginnings in the tough reorientation by workers who had lived under fascism are described with great literary skill in their intellectual and philosophic dimensions. The manner in which these books view the first steps workers take into the new society--from the vantage point of the present--reveals the historic road the workers class passed through in recent decades in a manner unprecedented in our literature.

Also in Harry Kampling's novel "Der Mann aus der Siedlung," the change a worker makes from a soldier in the fascist army to becoming an SED member is described as a long-range and complicated process. Kampling's hero, the worker Renneberg, passes through many heavy experiences before he, after going through various stations in life, finds his identity as a member of the ruling class.

How the sense of identity of the workers class begins to evolve after 1945 and the individual worker gradually realizes the historic strength of his class--that is a problem which now, in the late 1970's, is demonstrated mainly by the

destinies of various people from all parts of the working class. That puts into focus their milieu, their social specificity and their particular life-style. That has enriched our literature with a number of strongly expressed, life-related and original figures of workers, as by Gebhardt and Else Scharf-schwerdt in Helmut Sakowski, the "little woman" in Horst Bastian, the Rechlin couple in Jochen Hauser, the "little brother" in Rolf Floss, Elias in Harry Kampling, or the streetcar passenger in Eberhard Panitz.

Some authors try to look at the development of the workers class in our country within a larger historic frame by taking their plot back to the start of our century. Bernhard Seeger, in "Der Harmonikaspieler," describes the fate of the class-conscious proletarian and carpenter Rutenschneider from the beginning of the fascist seizure of power all the way to socialist construction in the 1960's. This look at a whole life of a worker that always remains confined to the same milieu puts into relief how the previous workers' generation was shaped by the fluctuations in German history and acquired such class characteristics as steadiness, courage, consistency and solidarity. That also holds true for the new books by Eberhard Panitz and Juri Brezan. In this context we also have to refer to the autobiographies in which professional revolutionaries, communists authors, and writers about cultural policy, together with their life stories, have held on to essential historic segments in this century's working class struggle.

Other authors, mostly belonging to the middle-generation, present young workers within critical political situations in GDR history. There they show how the class and political consciousness of the workers' generation growing up under socialism evolved in the work and political struggles of the 1950's. The hero of Rolf Floss, the 21-year old worker Hagen ("Tanzstunden eines jungen Mannes"), is confronted with contradictions affected by the counterrevolutionary events in Hungary and the GDR's open border with West Berlin. The young worker, traveling for purposes of installations, plunges into conflicts which, above and beyond the concrete time situation there, every generation in socialism and each individual has to settle always anew under different circumstances. That raises the questions of integrity with respect to socialist property and the workers and farmers state or that of the "attractiveness," the values of socialism for the individual.

In all these books the working sphere in material production plays an outstanding role in forming the personalities of the literary characters. To them, work is not only a technological process but a crucial sphere of contact with society, with other people and their views and attitudes. Here they are confronted with decisions, involved in debate and faced with relevant political issues.

Benito Wogatzki's "Das Narrenfell" is an example showing that a start is being made in the early 1980's in also lending more aesthetic diversity to the workers class. With humor the author presents the contradiction between the need for realizing their leadership claim in ordinary living and the inadequacy of some workers to meet that claim. Plumber Ulli Wuttke, the hero in Wogatzki's novel, keeps getting into trouble with reality through his naivety and his stereotypical notions of socialism.



Remarkable books have also been written about the characters of workers in the immediate present. Outstanding examples are the characters in Helmut H. Schulz' novel "Das Erbe" [The Legacy], 1981. With the basic idea that the lives of the people in our country today are affected positively as well as negatively by the legacy from previous generations, the author gains new dimensions in presenting the figures of workers in his novel which, while it plays in the late 1960's, in its ideas aims directly at our present days. Schulz traces the life stories of the members of a brigade pictured in building the Theerberg power plant back to their childhood. So we get both individually and socially sharply profiled figures of workers that are also--picked from the wealth of life--typical representatives of their class.

Ursula Pueschel's volume of accounts, "Unterwegs in meinen Doerfern" [Passing Through My Villages], on the other hand, catches the working methods and living habits of people who are about to enforce rural industrialization. That makes her one of the few authors who keep using the documentary tradition in dealing with the workers class. Guenter Goerlich's novel "Die Chance des Mannes" [Man's Chance] is one of the few books that places a state functionary as a working class representative in the center of the plot. It concerns his working and managerial style and the relation between humanity and power. It is noteworthy that even in books that do not directly deal with the work environment but with matters of the relationship between the generations, the partnership, family relations, or the attitude toward the environment and nature, the state and the society, a number of literarily accomplished and very interesting characters of workers can be found--e.g. in Rudi Bentzien, Gerhard Holtz-Baumert, Uwe Kant, Benno Pludra, Bernd Schirmer and Hans Weber. (Also for the ample radio play production in our country a similar tendency could be shown.)

The examples here referred to are valuable literary achievements in aesthetically coping with the working class theme, along various subjects and topics and while picking up a number of traditional lines. But if one brings to mind the historic and political role the workers class in our country also has to play in the revolutionary world process and in the worldwide struggle for peace and detente, it becomes clear that literature has not yet fully exhausted all the dimensions in that subject matter.

#### Subjective Responsibility and Objective Prerequisites

Portraying the workers class at a high aesthetic level is an ambitious task that also makes us inquire into the conditions under which this literature evolves. As a freely creating author, a single intellectual producer, usually lives and works at a distance from the production sphere and, at times, even from other public sectors, his appropriation of the living sphere of the workers class--unless he comes out of it himself--still remains an appropriation of what is originally not a familiar sphere of life to him. That requires special forms and methods for appropriating the subject matter to which we should give much more thought still under the conditions of the strongly diversifying socialist society. Can only authors who come out of the working class themselves write books about workers, or are there still other ways for producing substantial literature about this subject? How will the young generation of authors that has grown up in socialism and has had quite different basic experiences be able



to carry on this tradition in socialist literature? Is the contact authors have with workers, brigades, managers, institutions and so forth a guarantee per se for successful books about the workers class or does it not rather take much more than that--much information, e.g., about social processes, a fine education, a firm Marxist-Leninist world-outlook, and a familiarity with political contexts?

The writers association, publishing houses and literary journals can definitely with the means at their command have a helpful and supportive influence on this process. There also are still inexhausted opportunities all the way from providing contacts and commissions on writing reports to spending time in the production and management sectors. Decisive however for our further literary development is the authors' subjective responsibility itself and their seeking individual access to this part of reality.

It is important and necessary for all of us to give thought to these questions. That way alone can our literature meet the demands the 10th party congress has formulated and become a "source that profoundly informs us about our life with its revolutionary breath and its struggles and conflicts."\*

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\*Ibid., p 107.

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SOVIET-GDR PROGRESS IN MARX-ENGELS RESEARCH REVIEWED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 38 No 3/4, Mar-Apr 83 (signed to press 18 Feb 83) pp 358-363

[Article by Prof Dr Guenter Heyden, member, SED Auditing Commission; director, Institute for Marxism-Leninism, SED Central Committee; member, EINHEIT editorial board: "Marx-Engels Research--Vital Source for Our Social Sciences." For information on the early stages of this research, see translations of interviews with some SED scholars published under quoted headings in the following JPRS issues of this series: "First Volumes of New Marx-Engels Collection Published," 66241, 28 Nov 75, No 1164, pp 51-56; "Reports on Continued Marx-Engels Research," 67420, 8 Jun 76, No 1215, pp 5-13; "Two Additional Volumes of New Marx-Engels Collection Published," 68757, 10 Mar 77, pp 26-29]

[Text] In the worldwide ideological class conflict of our times, Marx-Engels research, by further exploring the precious legacy from the founders of scientific communism, is making an inestimable contribution. Through the publication of MEGA (Complete Collected Works of Marx-Engels) as a cooperative effort of the two fraternal institutes for Marxism-Leninism of the CPSU and the SED central committees our knowledge about the lives and works of the classics of our world-outlook is enriched and falsifications are aggressively and effectively countered. The theoretical work as well as the practical political activities of Marx and Engels constitute an inexhaustible source for our party's ideological work.

The resolution of the fifth SED Central Committee session to turn 1983 into a Karl Marx Year and theses published for that occasion also lend new impulses to Marx-Engels research. It is, after all, a matter of more extensively still exploring the lifework of Karl Marx, which is inseparable from that of his friend and companion in the struggle, Friedrich Engels. Through an ever broader dissemination of the works of Marx and Engels, more and more people can become familiar with the working class world-outlook, with scientific socialism. It is precisely the systematic research on the formation and growth of the theoretical views of Marx and Engels that illuminates how much they are tied up with the practical political efforts of these two mental giants. The combination of scientific with practical political activity in the life of Marx and Engels is in a unique fashion reflected in the historical-critical complete collected works of Marx-Engels, MEGA for short.

## MEGA--Precious Enrichment of Our State of Knowledge

The two publishing institutions, the Marxism-Leninism institutes under the CPSU and the SED central committees, are about to come out with the 20th volume of MEGA in the Karl Marx Year. Their goal is to publish a total of 30 MEGA volumes up to the end of the current five-year plan in 1985. Then the international labor movement and the scholarly public will have available in a historical-critical edition such important works as the first volume of "Capital," "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," "The Critique of the Gotha Program," and the "Dialectics of Nature."

Among the recently published volumes are volume 2 of the first section (works, articles, drafts) and the sixth book of volume 3 of the second section ("Capital" and preliminary works). They document in their way that each new MEGA volume considerably enhances our state of knowledge and in many respects lends impulses to social science research.

Volume I/2 contains the extant manuscripts and articles Marx wrote between the middle of March 1843 and the end of August 1844. That is the time frame between his quitting the editorial board of RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG until he started to collaborate with Friedrich Engels, the time when he, through discovering the historic role of the workers class, definitively went from idealism to materialism, from the petty bourgeois revolutionary democrats to communism, and began to elaborate his scientific socialism. This volume includes the manuscript "On the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right," the Deutsch-Franzoesische Jahrbuecher articles, the "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844," a conspectus on the final chapter of Hegel's "Phenomenology of Mind," and the articles of the Paris VORWAERTS."

That volume submits new research data on this intricate stage in the philosophic development of the young Marx. That also includes new insights into his publishing activity—such as the role he played in preparing and editing the Deutsch-Franzoesische Jahrbuecher, a discriminating explanation of the causes for the decline of the journal and of his influence in turning VORWAERTS into a communist paper. It was possible to prove that not until he came to Paris did Marx write his "On the Jewish Question," which was so crucial for his transition to communism.

It has become more compelling now to place the manuscript for the "Critique of Hegels' Philosophy of Right" within the period of several years, beginning in 1842, when Marx started to deal with Hegel's concept of constitutional law. Obvious differences between the present manuscript and an earlier nonextant version of 1842 have been dealt with. Then there were also some changes made in the arrangement of the text heretofore, based on an analysis of the original manuscript and of the working methods used by Marx.

The volume provides important new insights about the "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts." The MEGA edition relies on a precise examination of the original manuscripts handed down and a direct comparison with the excerpt notebooks of that period. To do justice to the complicated situation in the transmission, the fragmentary character, the different degrees of maturity and the obstinate working method of Marx, the decision was made to record the transmitted text in

two different arrangements. The first arrangement in principle follows the sequence in which it was written, that is to say, the text is arranged in the manner in which it is likely to have evolved in the way Marx worked on it. This arrangement makes his effort to gain new insights most evident. The second version recaptures Marx' own editing of the text and the logical structure in the various notebooks. This version is by and large identical with the previous edition but also indicates significant variables.

Since they were first published 50 years ago, the "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts" have, with shifts in emphasis, been a focal point of the ideological class conflict. From the 1960's to the early 1970's, bourgeois and revisionist falsifiers of Marx preferred to interpret this work as the one that presented "authentic" Marxism and declare Marx an abstract-humanistic thinker. At present, the transition to sharper confrontation in the ideological field goes hand in hand with the appearance of more conservative-reactionary tendencies. In imperialist Marx research that is found in that the previous differentiation between the "young" and the "old" Marx is more and more being abandoned and the doctrine of Marx and Engels is being rejected globally. Also in the scope of this conception they are misrepresenting the place the "Manuscripts" hold within the overall process of the genesis and evolution of Marxism, with the claim being made that the "chief mistakes" of the Marxist doctrine were already committed in the "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts." The solid scholarly edition of the "Manuscripts" in MEGA Volume I/2 helps draw a more accurate picture of the philosophic development of Marx and helps cogently refute the distortion of his philosophic development by bourgeois Marx scholars.

The literary legacy of the young Marx of this period is now for the first time fully available through this volume together with the volume of letters, III/1 (this third section of MEGA publishes all letters) and the excerpt notebooks of Kreuznach and Paris in volume IV/2 (the fourth section contains the excerpts, conspectuses and notes), except for his markings and marginalia in books, which were however to a large extent taken care of already by footnotes in volume I/2. That is a unique base of sources reflecting in their entirety, down to the finest detail, how Marx through strenuous mental efforts, in the outcome of his titanic scholarly work and while taking a direct part in the political and intellectual confrontations in his time, founded the working class world-outlook.

The sixth and last book of Volume II/3 of MEGA came out in 1982. This presents us for the first time with Marx' complete economic manuscript of 1861-1863, "On the Critique of Political Economy," in the original language. This manuscript of circa 2,400 printed pages is Karl Marx' most copious and cohesive work prior to "Capital" and, after the "Principles of the Critique of Political Economy" of 1857/1858, forms its second draft, as it were. The largest part of the manuscript deals with the "theories on surplus value," made known previously already by the Marx-Engels edition. Some 900 printed pages of the manuscript are published for the first time in the original language.

Marx' economic manuscript of 1861-1863, "On the Critique of Political Economy," documents the maturation process of the proletarian political economy in the various fields. Within the systematic presentation of his surplus value theory, Marx for the first time deals in a comprehensive fashion with the production methods for relative surplus value. He elaborates his theories on average profit,



the production price, the market value, interest and ground-rent. He thereby demonstrates the effect of the surplus value law in the various spheres of production. In conjunction with the full elaboration of the surplus value theory there ripens then the definitive conception for his complete work, all three volumes of "Capital."

Marx for the first time develops important principles on the reproduction and circulation of total social capital. He divides production into two parts: the production of the means of production and the production of consumer goods. That gives him the premises for being able to analyze the reproduction of total social capital in terms of value as well as use-value. Marx makes the first attempt at systemtically accounting for profit and its relation to surplus value as well as for basic elements in his accumulation theory. For the first time he distinguishes between simple and expanded reproduction, between extensively and intensively expanded reproduction. His accounts of the inevitability of capitalist economic crises and of the basic contradictions in the capitalist society are in part more encompassing than they are in "Capital."

In "Capital," Marx defines the productive force of labor, among other things, by average workers' skills, the developmental stage of science and its technological application, the social combination of the production process, the scope and effectiveness of the means of production, and the natural conditions. The economic manuscript 1861-1863 now informs us about how he arrived at this general definition. He explores the "technological" bond between different economic societies and the historic development of techniques and technology as the "history of the formation of the productive organs of social man."\* Marx elaborated the fundamental importance of the above-mentioned factors for the constantly expanding and the increasingly more intensive social reproduction process.

A whole number of remarks in "Capital" on a rational and intensive organization of social production, of importance also to socialist production and an economic strategy founded in scientific theory, can already be found in the economic manuscript 1861-1863. They range from questions about optimum investing with favorable amortization conditions via the tapping of new use-value properties and utilization possibilities for raw materials--what we would call refining today--all the way to reducing the expenditures in embodied and live labor.

In connection with the relative surplus value theory, the sixth book of Volume II/3 in particular contains detailed examinations of the capitalist use of machinery, the role of science and its conversion into a productive force, and the social consequences of scientific-technical progress in capitalism. Marx here accounts for the gradual conversion of science into an immediate productive force as a developmental process that, while it matures, becomes incompatible with capitalist production and its objective, the production of surplus value. By his exploring techniques, technology and science, subject to an encompassing explanation of the surplus value theory, he shows the basic contradiction between economic and social effectiveness in capitalism. Resolving this contradiction between the tremendous development of the productive forces and their opportunities to satisfy social needs all-around, on the one side, and the actual, one-sided use made of the productive forces, oriented to profit interests and all

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\*"Capital," Vol I, Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 23, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 392, footnote 89.

too frequently anti-human as well, on the other, Marx prescribes as something for outside the capitalist production relations. In the manuscript he describes the massive use of machinery in production as crucial for fully enforcing the capitalist production relations. At the same time, a comprehensive connection of science and technology with production is to him a revolutionizing element in the transition from capitalism to a higher form of society. So this MEGA volume then also documents how in its basics Marx' economic doctrine has remained highly relevant.

#### New Land for Science

The MEGA editors truly enter into new scientific territory through their work on the fourth section. This section, of which by 1983 four volumes have been published, contains for the first time, along with conspectuses, excerpts and notebooks, the extremely abundant and diversified marginal notes, markings and indications made by Marx and Engels in the books in their personal libraries, and they are highly informative in Marx-Engels research. These hertofore hardly known and published marginalia in their totality make up a unique source for the study of the evolutionary and developmental process of Marxist theory and its various components, for the genesis of the works and the creative scientific working methods of Marx and Engels. They in a specific way help improve our understanding of the ramified creative mental process of Marx and Engels, their deeply penetrating various fields of interest, their copious reading and thus the universality of their knowledge, so that we can more adequately recapitulate the material foundation and informational sources for the genesis of their ideas and works.

A sample issue that came out in 1983 explains the preconditions and proposed solutions for the edition of the reading traces from Marx and Engels and offers sample texts with the scholarly footnotes belonging with them. This picks up and carries on a tested principle behind the MEGA edition--the first volumes had also been preceded by a sample volume. Future users and associates of MEGA are thereby given the opportunity, while they are still doing their preparatory work, to familiarize themselves with the intended principles for editing and commenting on the marginalia in MEGA and their practical application and to turn in their own opinions and suggestions on it.

The materials in the fourth section, which according to the provisional estimate are going to make up circa 50 volumes of the complete collected works, are an essential contribution to an all-inclusive exploration of the legacy of the founders of scientific communism. They emphatically demonstrate how the MEGA editors resolutely deal with the principle for putting out a complete edition. This also pulls the ground from under all the different Marx-Engels falsifications. Wherever materials remain unpublished, Marx scholars seek a pretext for insinuating that Marxist-Leninist publish only what suits them. In the Western paper forest one could read that "the editors of the gigantic work of Marx and Engels suppressed all sorts of utterances from the communist founding fathers," and this in conformity with the motto: "Whatever does not fit into the picture is eliminated." For example, "some small selections from pertinent unknown texts" are cited.\* Then 36 quotations, pulled out of context and out of the historic connection, without references, of course, are misused of which as many as 33 could be looked up in the Marx-Engels works by now disseminated in nearly 2.5 million copies. Such gross falsifications which seek to glue together the views

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\*DIE WELT, Bonn, 10 July 1982, p 1

of Marx and Engels by such a haphazard pasting together of various pieces of text will be effectively halted by this complete edition of the legacy of the founders of scientific communism.

All volumes thus far--and the edition is being sold in almost 40 countries--have met with vivid response. MEGA meets with vivid interest not only in the Soviet Union, the CDR and the other socialist states. In capitalist countries too the demand has risen greatly in recent years. This increasing interest in MEGA ties in with many scholarly treatments of the formation and development of Marxism. Economic manuscripts by Marx first published in MEGA are shortly translated into Japanese. Of the six books in Volume II/3, with Marx' manuscript of "On the Critique of Political Economy," three have already come out in Japanese.

One of the specific tasks of MEGA is not only to be the standard work for international Marx-Engels research but also an assured textual foundation for publishing the writings of the founders of Marxism through general readers' and textbook editions--including their translation into other languages.

The scholarly and editorial results of MEGA will become the basis for revisions and completions of Marx-Engels editions. That holds true, among other things, for volume 42 of this edition that contains the "Principles for a Critique of Political Economy" by Marx and will also be published in 1983. The results of MEGA will be channeled into the continuation of the English edition in 50 volumes, jointly published by the Institute for Marxism-Leninism of the CPSU and the party publishing houses of the communist parties in Great Britain and the United States, and into the work beginning on Marx-Engels editions in Slovenian, Spanish and Vietnamese. Editions sociales, Paris, publishing anthologies on the Paris Commune and economic works by Marx, relies on texts and commentaries in the relevant MEGA volumes. The Feltrinelli Institute in Milan, in editing the proceedings of the London Conference of the First International, of September 1871, used Volume I/22 to put those documents out in print. The principles of the historic-critical Marx-Engels edition have found general recognition.

By tapping and disseminating the ideas of the classics, for which MEGA offers a much broadened and qualitatively new base of sources, an important contribution can be made to our party's ideological work. For mining the legacy of Marx and Engels for solving current and future tasks, a close cooperation between MEGA research, research on the history of the German and international labor movement and research on our party history becomes especially important. Marx' and Engels' theoretical work as well as their practical political efforts over decades will provide us with an inexhaustible source for it.

Many efforts are already being made to disseminate fast and effectively the insights gained by the research on MEGA by "putting them into production," as it were. A number of publication organs got started around MEGA. First one should mention the Marx-Engels Yearbook put out by the two publishing institutions, of which five volumes already are out. On finds published in them contributions to the history of Marxism, the work of Marx and Engels in the international labor movement, topical problems of their theoretical legacy, and issue-taking with bourgeois distortions of their life and work. As supplements to already published MEGA volumes the Marx-Engels Yearbook publishes newly discovered Marx-Engels documents.

Also the SCIENTIFIC INFORMATION BULLETIN of the Marx-Engels sector of the Institute for Marxism-Leninism, CPSU Central Committee, in Moscow publishes research results in the work on the MEGA volumes, as it has published results in Marx-Engels research for years. Out of the MEGA effort come the "Beitraege zur Marx-Engels Forschung" of the Institute for Marxism-Leninism, SED Central Committee, in East Berlin, the "Arbeitsblaetter zur Marx-Engels Forschung" of the Martin Luther University in Halle, and the "Marx-Engels Forschungsberichte" of Karl Marx University in Leipzig. This illuminates what impulses the MEGA effort lends Marx-Engels research and social science research altogether.

Account of the new research results is taken also in the introductions to the works of the Marxist-Leninist classics that Dietz publishing house is putting out. They are to aid the systematic concern with the important works by Marx, Engels and Lenin and promote and stimulate studies. As to the works by Marx and Engels, this series has so far published introductions to Marx' "Wage Labor and Capital," and to his "Wage, Price and Profit," and to Engels' "Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy," to Marx' and Engels' "Communist Manifesto" and to Marx' "On the Critique of Political Economy." In 1983, the introduction to the first volume of "Capital" will come out, and other titles are in the works.

An important contribution to absorbing the legacy from Marx and Engels in the communist education of youth comes from the popular Marx-Engels biography, "Unser Leben" [Our Life], which is studied by hundreds of thousands of young people during the FDJ study year. This manner of dealing with the lives of the founders of the scientific working class theory helps them deepen their knowledge about the basic issues of scientific socialism and its relevance to the implementation of the party resolutions.

The doctrine of Marx and Engels has lost none of its relevance and vitality to this day. That is so because it unites the working people in their dynamics and creativity with its strict scientific quality and logic. While it is a cohesive doctrine it is not by that token all finished. Lenin has the great historic distinction to have defended Marxism against opportunism and revisionism and to have extended it further in creatively applying it to new conditions. The doctrine created by Marx, Engels and Lenin was further enriched by the communist parties' theoretical activities whereby it proves its vitality time and time again.

The SED also regards the work of Marx and Engels as the irrevocable basis of all its ideological and theoretical efforts. That decisively guarantees the unity and cohesion of its ranks but also further successful advances in the shaping of the developed socialist society under the current complicated international conditions in the 1980's.

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## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

### INTENSIFIED 'IDEOLOGICAL CONFRONTATION' WITH WEST EXPECTED

#### Impact on Marxist-Leninist Education

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 38 No 3/4, Mar-Apr 83 (signed to press 18 Feb 83) pp 364-369

[Article by Prof Dr Wolfgang Schneider, dean (prorector), program director for Scientific Communism and Party Construction, Karl Marx Party College, SED Central Committee; member, EINHEIT editorial board: "How is Marxism-Leninism To Be Taught?" A translation of the "SED Central Committee Theses on the 1983 Karl Marx Year," cited in footnote 2, is published in JPRS 83129, 24 Mar 83, No 2121, pp 10-29]

[Text] Imparting Marxism-Leninism as a guideline for conduct by means of instruction and study mostly requires proceeding from contemporary phenomena and processes, leading up to the laws and principles and bringing the militant spirit of our world-outlook fruitfully to bear on the ongoing class conflict. We must always comprehend Marxism-Leninism in the unity of its components, disclose the historic essence of the phenomena while guarding the unity of theory and practice, and combine strict scientific method with revolutionary passion.

Imparting Marxism-Leninism as a guideline for conduct is vitally necessary for socialism and inseparable from the party's political leadership in all social processes. That precisely greatly determines the doctrine and study of the scientific working class world-outlook because, after all, it is a matter of using Marxism-Leninism as a reliable compass for socialism, peace and social progress. It is a signpost to us because it discloses the objective developmental requirements and the fundamental interests of the workers class and all working people and is always concretely applied and further developed by the revolutionary working class party, this new type of party. Comrade Erich Honecker referred to this historic truth in saying that today the living strength of Marx' ideas and the effectiveness of his teachings as a guideline for practical conduct are more apparent than ever before. "Socialism has become a social reality on four continents. Also in Karl Marx' homeland there was fulfilled, through the birth and growth of the GDR, what this giant in mental strength and foresight, this great champion of the workers movement, realized and proved, did and accomplished."<sup>1</sup>

## From Concrete Manifestations to Inevitabilities

Marxism-Leninism is the world-outlook of our age. It is what man needs to find his way in the struggles of our era. Effectively propagating it requires, as Comrade Kurt Hager explained in talking to a teachers collective at the Karl Marx Party College under the SED Central Committee, to start with the up-to-date situation, the requirements of the ongoing struggle, and get to the scientific insights, inevitabilities and principles of Marxism-Leninism, whereby to prove that our world-outlook is correct. The reality of today most impressively confirms the theoretical utterances of Marxism-Leninism and facilitates its further creative development.

The "SED Central Committee Theses on the 1983 Karl Marx Year" persuasively illuminate that this is the point of departure for a clarifying and mobilizing manner of instilling Marxism-Leninism. The first thesis states that social reality today is marked by radical social transformations, a revolution in science and technology and the danger of worldwide nuclear war posed by imperialism's strategy of confrontation. "A scientific theory and method are now more necessary than ever before--in response to the question mark which hangs over the existence and future development of humanity--so that people can understand the nature of the conflicting trends, recognize the class forces behind them and find ways of translating into practice the yearning of the nations for a world of secure peace, unexploitative labor, stable social conditions, justice and education for all. Only Marxism-Leninism is equal to these demands."<sup>2</sup>

Questions about the nature of today's manifestations and processes relative to the strengthening of the GDR's economic capacity and the transition to an intensively expanded reproduction, if taken seriously, always lead back to the works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism. The resolute implementation of the main task policy in its unity of economic and social policy, for instance, is a concrete-historic fulfilment of socialism that was explained in its essence by Marx, Engels and Lenin. The contrast between socialism and imperialism is becoming ever more apparent particularly with regard to the objectives and effects of scientific-technical progress. The transition to socialist intensification is a process of an importance that cannot be appreciated highly enough, it being marked by an increasing unity between scientific-technical progress and all-round human development. Fine education and training, the further development of revolutionary attitudes, the creative activities of the working people, sustained by a socialist sense of responsibility, so that the working people, under Marxist-Leninist party leadership, prove themselves the self-assured shapers of their destiny, the rulers of their country--precisely that is the picture of socialism as presented in the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin and in the documents of the revolutionary labor movement.

Anyone who studies this will be led from today's requirements for socialist intensification, such as expressed, e.g., in the Schwedt Initiative, "Fewer Produce More," to the general social production law on labor changes with the largest possible versatility by the workers in consequence of it, which Marx worked out in "Capital." This provides the realization for how Marx, proceeding from the proof that the technical base of large-scale industry is revolutionary, established the inevitable developmental trend of the modern labor process, the increasing socialization of labor and production, and the basic social requirements for it.

Proceeding consistently along the lines of historical materialism, Marx set down the basic principle for the new society, the free and all-round development of all individuals as a possibility and developmental requirement for industrial large-scale production. While the industrial revolution, by transferring functions of the human hand to machinery, initiated a new qualitative step in the metabolic process between man and nature, the scientific-technical revolution in our era creates new opportunities for man's creative activities by transferring formal mental-logical functions of the human brain. That man thereby departs from the material production process proper was ingeniously recognized and profoundly described in theory by Marx, mainly in the "Principles of the Critique of Political Economy" and in "Capital," as far as the basic tendency is concerned.

From understanding these processes are derived essential Marxist-Leninist insights into the basic traits of the uniform communist society, including socialism as its first phase. That socialism has to be developed under the leadership of the workers class and its revolutionary party and on the basis of the most up-to-date science and technology is an assertion that is woven into the texture of Lenin's works. As one knows, Lenin put it like this: Communism is Soviet power plus the electrification of the whole country. The basic inevitable requirements of the labor processes depending on industrial large-scale production, demonstrated by Marx, Engels and Lenin, receive their concrete materialization in our time. The linkage between the advantages of socialism and the scientific-technical revolution also comes through the constant strengthening of our fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and is heightened by the deepening of socialist economic integration.

As the current conditions demand, the instruction and analysis of the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin are organically combined with the study of the SED documents. As a party that lets itself be guided by the scientific working class world-outlook, the SED combines Marxist-Leninist theory with revolutionary practice and directs us to the practical-political consequences of the changing conditions in our struggle. On the proven basis of the SED Program, the new scientific insights by which our party lets itself be guided are presented mainly in the form of political requirements and explanations of them. The requirement for the continued shaping of the developed socialist society, as contained in the SED Central Committee resolutions and the speeches by its general secretary, is an expression of creative theoretical work and, at the same time, a guideline for instruction and study of Marxism-Leninism, for a relevant absorption of the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Bringing Marxism-Leninism to realization as a science and skill in leadership in the Leninist sense means gaining deep insights into objective requirements and coping with the political leadership over all social processes. The rigorous enforcement of Marxist-Leninist policy depends on that leadership.

Our party's concentrating on always new requirements and tasks and its being oriented to the full spread and use of the advantages and impulses germane to socialism have met their test. Party policy and its scientific foundation, Marxism-Leninism, are more and more explained and studied in terms of socialist practice and by means of effective examples, policy, that is, which has already been realized, so that a direct guidance for conscious and successful action derives from it. Exemplary acts become mass initiatives to the extent that they

are based on deeply comprehending our party policy. What is important here, as in the performance comparison and the experience exchange, is achieving the best working methods, new technologies, scientific-technical solutions to enhance productivity, efficiency and qualities and, with it, insight into the essence of socialist intensification and the economic strategy of the 10th SED Congress. Scientific-technical and political-ideological tasks, understanding and attitudes, are thus inseparable from one another.

#### Marxism-Leninism--A Militant World-Outlook

Marxism-Leninism is a militant science born in the struggle against the bourgeois ideology and developed during the class struggle. "It is more important than ever," Comrade Erich Honecker affirmed at the 10th SED Congress, "to give a class-bound answer to each political or social question and always to thrust into the core of the system-conditioned nature of phenomena. The answer to the question 'who benefits?' remains the acid test for the analysis of any phenomenon and for correct decisions and actions in every class struggle situation. That holds true equally for the tasks in socialist construction as for the struggle against imperialism and its counterrevolutionary intrigues."<sup>3</sup>

Historic optimism radiates out of Marxism-Leninism; it is basic to the fundamental historic shift taking place in our era--the transition from capitalism to socialism. The old world forces, depending on exploitation and profit, rear up against it with all the energy they have. The U.S. President having called for a "crusade" against communism, for "leaving Marxism-Leninism on the ash heap of history," that amounts to the ideological accompaniment for the nuclear arms buildup policy by the most aggressive imperialist circles, the reverse side of their substantive war preparations. In view of the dangers arising from that to the life and survival of humanity, there can be no more important task than the securing of peace and the struggle against the imperialist confrontation and arms buildup policy. That makes it necessary for us resolutely to push back any imperialist attempts at influencing us ideologically. Creating an awareness of the advantages of socialism requires our tracing the manifestations back to their class-conditioned essence. That is most clearly apparent in the struggle for peace and disarmament. Who holds the weapons? What is the purpose in army training? The answer to such questions leads either to the interests of capital or of the forces that work for peace. The political, economic and intellectual-ideological tasks derived from that are bound to control the substance and method of Marxist-Leninist cultural and educational work. A theoretical and political-ideological confrontation with anticommunism is of special weight here. Especially because the course and tempo of historic progress decisively depend on the thoughts and conduct of millions of working people, the class enemy keeps mounting new and frenetic assaults against Marxism-Leninism and distorts and "interprets" it in conformity with his own class interest. Spreading and teaching our ideology therefore all the more also means polemics, struggle by the new against the old.

The increasing intertwining of all sectors of public life--with the economy standing at the center of the SED's social policy--and the compactness of the party's political leadership activity resulting from that make it necessary to conceive Marxism-Leninism always in the unity of its components--dialectic



and historical materialism, political economy, scientific communism. The SED Program points out that Marxism-Leninism in the unity of all its parts is the theoretical foundation for all party activity.<sup>4</sup> Thus we must convey our world-outlook in such a way that absorbing particular doctrines in it furnishes a still deeper overall understanding. That makes high demands on the scientific level and the teaching method in our propaganda work. Lenin repeatedly asserted that "the only really practical policy is a policy of principle in every way." And he added that "anyone who approaches a particular question without first having resolved the general ones, will inevitably, at every step and without being aware of it, 'stumble' over those general questions."<sup>5</sup>

Observing the unity of elements means a comprehensive overall social view. It makes possible a sound scientific determination of the objective and the developmental thrust of socialism. A clear political objective for social action requires accurately comprehending and practically ensuring at all times the connection the 10th SED Congress established between the meaning of socialism, the main task in its unity of economic and social policy, the ten key points of the economic strategy, the main trends in further enhancing political leadership and, hence, between political stability, growing economic efficiency and the consolidation of the relationship of confidence between the party and the people. The study of Marxism-Leninism will always be aimed at recognizing what is essential in the flux of social relations and what governs developments on the whole. Picking up many different pieces of information does not yet amount to a genuine appropriation of the science as long as the interconnections remain unclear. Scientific thinking means thrusting into the essence, from the phenomena to the inevitabilities. "All science would be superfluous if the phenomenal and the noumenal were one and the same."<sup>6</sup>

### Historic Approach

In studying Marxism-Leninism it cannot be enough merely to adopt the conclusions theoretic thought has arrived at as of now. To understand the creative character of Marxism-Leninism more profoundly one can be greatly helped by understanding the long historic road, full of struggle, to socialism. Such an approach is indispensable for serious study. The new society is the quintessence of all history up to now. And that precisely is why Marx and Engels gave so much thought to the historical development of mankind. After Morgan's research results had become known, for instance, they intensively dealt with the relations in primitive society and were able to explain consistently, along the lines of historical materialism, the origin and perspective of the family, private property and the state.

The study of the works by Marx, Engels and Lenin brings us closer to the mystery of the eternal enticement of the works of art in Greek antiquity as well as to the great revolutionary people's movements in history, to the accomplishments of the Renaissance, the bourgeois Enlightenment, the social effects of the industrial revolution and the birth and growth of the modern proletariat, and it furnishes us with a guide to the history of the practical implementation of socialism that started with the Great Socialist October Revolution and to comprehending the fundamental experiences of socialist and communist construction in the Soviet Union. Marxism-Leninism knows no historic or national constraints. And that precisely is the reason why studying and teaching it makes a high demand on having an open mind.

Another side of the historic approach relates to the insight into the developmental process of the theoretical Marxist-Leninist doctrines; the history of Marxist-Leninist theory is on the whole, and also in particulars, an extremely cogent argument on behalf of its creative character. Paving the way for practice, it corroborated and enriched itself by the experiences gained. The elaboration of the conception of the developed socialist society, the most significant social science accomplishment in recent years, attests to the vitality of Marxism-Leninism and ensures clearheaded headway in the struggle for successfully carrying on the general line of the 10th SED Congress. Marxism-Leninism has the ability, as is also proven by its history as a creative theory, to accept and absorb everything truly new in science and practice. As openly and unreservedly as Marxism-Leninism promotes progress in the knowledge of nature and society, just as implacably it opposes any misuse of science for the anti-humanistic policy of imperialism, any obscurantism in our age, any political mind twisting of the working people.

### Scientific Method and Revolutionary Passion

The study of Marxism-Leninism is aimed at forming firm and unshakable ideological positions, at the readiness to fight for party policy undeterred under any circumstances. The degree of ideological conviction and insight into party policy greatly controls the strength and permanence of revolutionary activity and the political steadfastness and fighting strength in resolving the ambitious tasks in the further all-round strengthening of the GDR as a cornerstone for peace and socialism in Europe.

Teaching Marxism-Leninism combines strict logic of cognition with the shaping of socialist modes of conduct. Revolutionary working class struggle challenges and satisfies both the cognitional and the emotional needs of men and arouses and reinforces their enthusiasm for the socialist and communist ideals. Through socialism, social conditions become reality that evoke men's abilities and talents and require a sharp mind and impassioned dedication to be constantly fostered. Whether people identify with the communist ideals and goals because they are attracted by the reality of socialism or repulsed by the anti-human practice of imperialism, or espouse socialism mainly by way of their scientific or aesthetic reflection on reality—in one way or another, mind and heart, reason and emotion, will always function together. So it is a matter of Marxist-Leninist knowledge and communist conviction based on such knowledge and on the practical and personal experiences that will motivate revolutionary acts. Man's personal involvement with what he has understood comes about primarily when practical personal experiences reinforce and deepen his Marxist-Leninist knowledge or when, vice versa, knowledge illuminates the deeper and causative connections in experiences gained (or also in the mentally recapitulated experience of former generations). And precisely that way, in the process of revolutionary practice, on the job, in the political struggle, and in coping with test situations, permanent socialist attitudes form.

Lenin always conveyed and applied scientific communism, mindful of the feelings and interests of the working people, fully aware as he was of this highly important political factor in the class struggle. He attributed great importance to the mood of the masses for the success of the socialist revolution. To teach

Marxism-Leninism and act accordingly thus means always closely combining scientific understanding with challenging and arousing revolutionary passion. The study of Marxism-Leninism implies absorbing one's own experiences in life and in the political struggle. Picking up and making conscious such experiences in explaining their deeper connections and the requirements for realizing the working people's interests based on that stand at the center of a vivid instruction aiming at the dispensation of knowledge and at communist education. For teaching to be effective it is very important for teachers to know their students, their store of political experience, and their characteristics and special skills; it calls for individualized and discriminating efforts.

"Uniting the scientific method with revolutionary energy grants Marxism such a pervasive effect on the struggles of the workers class and of the other working people." Equipping the working class and all working people for active, creative efforts, for consciously acting on behalf of their very own life requirements--that is what the teaching of Marxism-Leninism concentrates on.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Aus dem Schlusswort des Genossen Erich Honecker, 5. Tagung des ZK der SED" (From Comrade Erich Honecker's Concluding Speech--Fifth SED Central Committee Session), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1982, p 7.
2. "SED Central Committee Theses on the 1983 Karl Marx Year," EINHEIT, No 1, 1983, p 10.
3. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 142.
4. Cf. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 66.
5. V. I. Lenin, "Our Position on the Bourgeois Parties," "Werke" (Works), Vol 12, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 492.
6. Karl Marx, "Capital," Vol III, Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 25, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1964, p 825.
7. Kurt Hager, "The Truth and Effect of Karl Marx' Doctrine," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 27/28 November 1982, p 6.

#### Defamation of Marx, Scientific Communism

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 38 No 3/4, Mar-Apr 83 (signed to press 18 Feb 83) pp 397-402

[Article by Prof Dr Rolf Dlubek, sector chief, Institute for Marxism-Leninism, SED Central Committee: "Falsifying Marx in the Service of Anticommunism"]

[Text] Taking issue with the falsification of scientific communism by conservative ideologues who through their militant anticommunism lend ideological assistance to the confrontation policy from the most aggressive imperialist circles. In this, the conservative falsifiers of Marx also resort to the most infamous denigration of the personality of the founder of scientific communism and add a most vicious variant to the troubled waters of calumnies of the work and effect of Marx.

"The growth of Marxism and the spread and growing strength of its ideas among the workers class inevitably lead to ever more frequent repetitions and an intensification of such bourgeois assaults on Marxism which, however, emerges stronger, tougher and more alive from any 'destruction' by official science."  
V. I. Lenin

Bourgeois ideologists have been fighting the ideas of Marx and Engels ever since the "Communist Manifesto" came out. Innumerable times have they been declared to be refuted, obsolete, even dead, yet nothing could stop their incomparable triumphant advance. Resolutely defended against any attacks and creatively further developed for our era by V. I. Lenin, their being correct has also practically been proven since the Great Socialist October Revolution, so that socialism has now already been installed on four continents.

In the early 1980's Marxism-Leninism once again demonstrated it is the strongest spiritual current in our era. All over the world the progressive forces observe Karl Marx' hundredth death anniversary and his 165th birthday, fully aware that the doctrine that bears his name is of imperishable relevance in the struggle for peace and social progress. That precisely is what gives no rest to those, however, who seek to justify ideologically, even to glorify, the confrontation course of the most aggressive monopoly capital circles, sunk in their historic defensive.

Already way back in the fall of 1981, a sort of mobilization of the anticommunists against the coming Marx jubilees set in in the FRG. On the occasion of the Frankfurt Book Fair, for instance, a posthumous Marx biography of the bourgeois journalist Richard Friedenthal was put out in a large edition which is nothing but a piecing together or more or less skillfully packaged cliches for a coarse distorting of Marx. And that must also have been the reason why anticommunist spokesmen and the Springer press and other reactionary papers propagated it as the "best introduction" to the commemorative days in 1983.

When the SED Central Committee at its fifth session decided to turn 1983 into a Karl Marx Year, RHEINISCHER MERKUR at the turn of the year called for not surrendering the Marx commemorations to the adherents to Marxism. It recommended the outpourings of a "Christian conservative," Bayreuth political scientist Konrad Loew, who as a right fielder and a rising star of FRG "Marxology" had made a name for himself with a most vindictive, assiduous and botched study on the defamation of Marxism.



Many "Marxologists" continue to prefer a more differentiated criticism of Marxism that detaches specific aspects or lessons, seeking to deprive them of their true content. Then they integrate that with bourgeois-liberal, social reformist and other conceptions so as to be able to attack the Marxist-Leninist parties and real socialism in the name of a presumably correct understanding of Marx. Of ever greater weight in recent years, however, has been the total rejection of Marxism, especially by conservative ideologues.

#### Debasing the Essence of the Socialist Revolution

As frank apologists for monopoly capital exploitation and power relations, the conservative ideologues vehemently attack the scientific world-outlook Marx and Engels created, which set down the historic mission of the workers class to establish, in alliance with the other working people, the socialist and communist society. Though they themselves hold irrationalist philosophic views, they would discredit the world-outlook of dialectical materialism as a sort of "substitute for religion," of all things, as a "history with the promise of redemption"<sup>1</sup> exiled from science. And worse even: they are defaming Marxism as an "actively nihilistic ideology in the struggle for absolute destruction."<sup>2</sup> Revolution is annihilation, so they say, these defenders of the imperialist order, and that is all that is to it.

Every revolution--and that is what those demagogues are counting on--does of course destroy outdated social forms--but in order to create new ones. In new dimensions and at a new quality that does apply to the socialist revolution. Its leadership force, the revolutionary workers class, can be the first class to free itself in history not until all exploitative conditions--and thereby the cardinal evil of all previous antagonistic class societies--are abolished. Marx therefore designated as its historic task "to topple all conditions under which man is a debased, enslaved, abandoned and despised being so that man become the supreme being for man."<sup>3</sup> What infamy, what stupidity it is to denigrate this deeply humane and creative aspiration in the history of mankind as "absolute destruction," it being a work that shapes the human future, that "secures, with the greatest upsurge in the productive forces of social labor, the universal development of man."<sup>4</sup>

This is what the GDR citizens know well enough from their own experience: Under the leadership by the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party, that society takes on real shape more and more which places the well-being and happiness of the people at the center. Socialism has abolished exploitation, brought the right to work and other basic rights and freedoms to realization, and replaced capitalist competition by comradely collaboration and socialist competition, and thereby created thus far unknown developmental opportunities for all members of society. For the first time in history the creators of public wealth can enforce their interests in labor--the most important sphere of human life--and share in the planning of all public affairs and in government.

As the main instrument of the workers class and its allies in the construction of the new society, the socialist state of course becomes the special target of its enemies' assaults. Liberal, social reformist and revisionist ideologues insinuate that Lenin's concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat contradicts

the teachings of the founders of Marxism. The conservatives, on the other hand, say the originators of this doctrine are Marx and Engels--certainly not for reasons of scholarly integrity but to malign it from their class point of view.

Doing so, the conservatives resort to the nauseatingly well known contrastation between democracy and dictatorship, which hides the class character of the state, so as to malign socialist democracy as dictatorship and praise the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie as democracy. Yet it is not difficult to realize whose freedom and democracy it is that the Marx falsifiers are fighting for. Loew, e.g., finds the chief evidence for Marx' undemocratic persuasion in his siding with the Paris June fighters in 1848 and with the Communards in 1871. Loew in turn backs the butchers of the revolutionary workers.

As Marx and Engels have shown, real democracy for the majority of the people and the working masses only becomes real through the dictatorship of the proletariat. By establishing it, the GDR working people also "burst the previous state power and replaced it by a new and truly democratic one"<sup>5</sup> and "replaced the organized might of suppression by their own might."<sup>6</sup> Without its might, the workers class and its allies could not have laid the foundations of socialism. And they also needed a secure might to carry on the socialist revolution, shape the developed socialist society, and fulfill the main task for the benefit of the people.

#### Main Thrust Against the Party's Leadership Role

The attacks against the political teachings of Marx and their implementation in the GDR are directed primarily against the leadership role of the revolutionary working class party. So FRG political scientists claim the SED was "incorrect in pretending that the party enjoyed a central place value in Marx."<sup>7</sup> Bottomless ignorance or deliberate falsification--that is the question here.

Friedrich Engels made it perfectly clear: "So that on the day of decision the proletariat is strong enough to win, it is necessary--and this Marx and I have advocated since 1847--that it forms a special party, separate and distinct and opposed to all others, a self-assured class party."<sup>8</sup> From the experiences with the Paris Commune, Marx and Engels prudently inferred that a revolutionary workers party is necessary not only for laying the foundations of socialism but remains indispensable "for the triumph of the social revolution and its end goal, the abolition of the classes."<sup>9</sup>

When Engels on the eve of imperialism more concretely considered the inevitabilities behind the socialist revolution, he came to underscore the great importance of the subjective factor for its victory. With all emphasis he underscored the need for a party that would know, "to take on the leadership for the entire labor movement and orient it to socialism."<sup>10</sup> Those were the realizations that V. I. Lenin picked up as he explained the doctrine of a new type of party as being one of the conditions for the new era.

There are some conservative ideologues who claim that Marx, as Lenin later as well, really had meant by the dictatorship of the proletariat the "dictatorship of a party elite."<sup>11</sup> This is meant to design a contradiction between the

Marxist-Leninist party and the workers class, which lacks all real foundation. Already in the "Communist Manifesto," Marx and Engels taught that the communists "have no interests separate and distinct from the entire proletariat,"<sup>12</sup> but constitute that part of the workers class that has become aware of its historic task and represents it resolutely and in an organized fashion.

True to the teachings by Marx, Engels and Lenin, the SED is equal to its leadership role as the working class party for all the working people in the socialist GDR. With more than 2.2 million members, it is a party that is deeply rooted in the masses. With a 57.8 percentage of workers, the party now includes the highest proportion of workers since it was founded. Many functionaries in the party and government machinery stem from the working class. The party realizes its leadership role through its members' indefatigable dedication to the interests of the working people, to the well-being of the people. All the less can the design to discredit our order as "party monopoly socialism"<sup>13</sup> get anywhere.

SED cooperation with the friendly parties and mass organizations in the democratic bloc and in the National Front, in their common tasks and goals for the good of the people, has proven itself in the GDR. The working class party embodies the leading force of socialist society because the working class is the main political and social force in this society; its revolutionary characteristics largely control its further advances. Above all, however, the Marxist-Leninist party fashions the resolutely democratic character of our order. By means of its scientifically founded policy it awakens the creative potentials of the masses, through which more and more citizens are taking part actively and consciously in socialist construction. So Marx' and Engels' prediction is fulfilled that after the working class seizure of power men will finally "make their own history in full awareness" and thereby take the "leap from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom."<sup>14</sup>

#### Defamation of Marx, Scientific Communism

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 38 Mar-Apr 83, pp 397-402 (signed to press 18 Feb 83)

Only giants in mental strength and character could prepare the spiritual revolution, the greatest social transformation in world history. Yet it comports with the "logic" of such conservatives as Friedenthal and Loew that they also seek to discredit Marxism by defaming its creator, presenting Marx as a man with the poorest imaginable character traits, as intelligent, to be sure, yet motivated exclusively by his own sense of importance.

As "crown witnesses" for it they cite contemporaries who had become political adversaries and personal enemies of Marx and, thus, unable to judge him objectively—petty bourgeois politicians who in vain opposed the autonomy of the revolutionary workers movement, representatives of utopian doctrines doggedly set against the success of scientific communism, and spokesmen of anarchism and other ideologies hostile to Marxism.

A truly authentic picture of Marx' personality, however, is found in the memoirs of his fellow-combatants who knew him best and also could judge his work. In the Karl Marx Year Dietz publishing house is also putting out a representative volume of condolence letters and obituaries from the international workers movement for Marx and Engels. Here we see Marx as he really was: the man whom

proletarian revolutionaries of several generations, many nations and diverse provenance recognized and esteemed as a teacher and leader with the greatest respect for the work "of the great thinker and true friend of the workers in all nations who placed his whole life at the service to liberating the working class."<sup>15</sup>

"He was as much above envy and jealousy as above vanity,"<sup>16</sup> was Wilhelm Liebknecht's judgment of him. "Implacably severe, however, he was against hypocrites, ignoramuses and braggarts, who then always were the ones to denigrate Marx' character,"<sup>17</sup> Friedrich Adolf Sorge adds to that. "Marx always considered it exceedingly important to meet with workers and talk with them,"<sup>18</sup> Friedrich Lessner reports. "'To work for the world' was one of his favorite sayings,"<sup>19</sup> Paul Lafargue remembers.

The horror picture militant anticommunists paint of Marx solely and exclusively serves reactionary political purposes. Through maliciously debasing the personality of Marx, unconscionable psychological warfare also means to oppose the growing influence of his doctrine. So the political-ideological debates Marx had to engage in in the formation of revolutionary workers parties are misinterpreted as personal quarrels and played up as if they had been the principal features in his life.

Authors like Friedenthal of course are bothered by how rigorously Marx and Engels championed their insights into scientific communism, those insights themselves likely being the greatest bother to them. Revolutionaries, on the other hand, find in Marx' and Engels' rigor a model for communist rigidity of principle. MARXISTISCHE BLAETTER properly state: "Marx was a fighter and scientist, with all his mind and heart, for the cause of the workers class."<sup>20</sup>

#### The Lie of the Threat as Ideological War Preparation

As gross Marx falsification is a basic component of anticommunism, it also serves its present main goal: the justification of the course of confrontation and arms buildup and the getting set for a nuclear war by the most aggressive monopoly capital circles. That is why conservative ideologues untiringly spread the lie of a threat to peace by Marxism-Leninism and the socialist states.

According to Friedenthal, the desire for war, considered a means for the working class to conquer political power, had been characteristic of Marx' and Engels' theoretical and political work.

What shameless slander! A historic fact, after all, is that scientific communism for the first time in history presented the true course for definitively eliminating wars from the lives of the nations. Already in the "Communist Manifesto" Marx and Engels provided the evidence for that the workers class, by establishing the socialist society, also eliminates the social roots for wars that are inherent in exploitative relations. And hardly had the workers movement become a mass movement, that Marx, in his "Inaugural Speech to the International Working Men's Association," explicitly pointed out that on behalf of the struggle for socialism it could and had to prevent some unjust wars even under capitalism.



Marx and Engels regarded it as a task of the workers class to end unjust wars the outbreak of which it could not prevent, if possible, by a revolution. Wars to them were anything but a necessary or, worse, a desirable condition for socialist revolution. Prophetically almost Engels predicted the devastating consequences of a world war and was the first one to submit a sound scientific disarmament proposal in his article series "Can Europe Disarm?"

It is infamous for Friedenthal to contend the Soviet Union and the other socialist states would, pursuant to Marx and his doctrine, find a means of their policy in unleashing wars, even a world war.<sup>21</sup> Better ideological pandering to the arms buildup policy of imperialist reaction is hardly imaginable. That then also inspired the CDU's Barzel to announce: "Karl Marx still costs us billions today-- perceptibly so, for example, in the European and Atlantic military budgets."<sup>22</sup>

The armaments spiral is being kept going exclusively by the most reactionary monopoly capital circles. By their desires to turn the wheel of history back by force, they today even pose the peril of a nuclear catastrophe. The socialist community of states, on the other hand, stands up as the main force in the worldwide struggle for peace and social progress. Marx showed that from the liberation struggle of the workers class a society emerges "whose international principle will be peace because the same principle rules every nation--labor!"<sup>23</sup> This became the socialist countries' guideline for government policy--from Lenin's Peace Decree all the way to the Prague Declaration by the Political Consultative Commission of the Warsaw Pact states.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

DEVELOPING COUNTRIES' ADVANTAGES FROM SOCIALIST AID SPELLED OUT

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 38 No 3/4, Mar-Apr 83 (signed to press 18 Feb 83) pp 383-389

[Article by Dr Friedel Trappen, deputy department chief, SED Central Committee: "The Struggle for National and Social Liberation Continues"]

[Text] Among Marx' distinctions is that he disclosed the nature of the national and colonial question and pointed out the basic trend toward the liberation of the peoples colonially suppressed and exploited by capitalism. From there, the article analyzes the threat to the national interests of the liberated countries from imperialism which seeks to subordinate those countries' potentials to its hegemonial designs and its crusade against peace. What is the substance and importance of real socialism's collaboration with the national liberation movement? What defines the socialist alternative of the course of development?

"The victory of the proletariat is at once a victory over the national and industrial conflicts which today pit the various nations against each other in enmity. The victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie hence also is the liberation signal to all suppressed nations."

Karl Marx

It is among the immortal distinctions of Karl Marx to have been the first to disclose the nature of the national and colonial question. Relying on his extensive analysis, he had made it evident that colonialism, standing for the control over and exploitation of foreign nations, is inherent in capitalism. So Marx, through his various studies of the role of British rule in India, unmasked the colonialist expansionist proclivities of British capitalism and their devastating effects on the colonially enslaved peoples. In this context he spoke of a process of "bleeding to death,"<sup>1</sup> which brought the Indian people famines and massive deaths while British capital, through seizing the Indian textile market and levying tolls, extorted immeasurable riches from that country. At the same time Marx predicted that the colonially suppressed peoples would not settle for the destiny imposed upon them by foreign capital.

With the triumph of the proletariat in Russia under Bolshevik party leadership, the first decisive step was taken toward immediately implementing the theory Marx and Engels had established and Lenin had further extended on the liberation of humanity from social, national and colonial exploitation and suppression. The Great Socialist October Revolution was a liberation revolution that became a signal to all suppressed nations. Since then the socialist world system arose which decisively assisted in dealing the imperialist colonial system a death blow after coming under the assault from the national liberation movement. Circa 120 states newly constituted themselves. More than 70 percent of the world population lives in them on two-thirds of our planet's territory. Millions of people no longer are objects of history. They have begun to take their destinies into their own hands and have become an influential force. Their most representative international forum, the nonaligned movement, is an "important factor working for recovery in the international situation."<sup>2</sup>

Under current world conditions, when the most aggressive imperialist circles, particularly those in the United States, are aggravating international development through their policy of violence, pressure, diktat, meddling in internal affairs, and infringing the national independence and sovereignty of the states, special importance attaches to the liberated states' commitment to the safeguarding and consolidation of world peace. At the fifth extraordinary session of the coordination bureau of the nonaligned movement in Managua, in January 1983, the participants confirmed their anti-imperialist course. They announced their firm solidarity with nations in the various parts of the world fighting for national independence and social progress and demanded peaceful settlements for controversial international issues and political resolutions of conflicts. Thereby they took account of their nations' desires and aspirations as they ever more emphatically join the global anti-war movement. In the fall of 1982, for instance, some 7.5 million Indians in New Delhi and other cities in the country demonstrated against the nuclear arms race, demanded turning the Indian Ocean into a peace zone, and thereby demonstrated that the struggle by the former colonial and semi-colonial countries for consolidating their national independence and against colonialism and neocolonialism is closely linked with the struggle for peace and against the imperialist policy of confrontation and arms buildup.

#### National Interests Threatened

As a reaction to the further intensification of the general crisis in capitalism and the confining of its sphere of predominance because of the upsurge in the national and social liberation movement, imperialism now, more than ever, seeks to take revenge, reconquer lost positions and make the resources and potentials of the liberated states serviceable to its hegemonial designs and its crusade against real socialism. Its idea there is that in most of these states a capitalism is developing which, due to its dependent, deformed and backward character, offers various points of access. As the former U.S. Deputy Secretary of Defense Carlucci pointed out in a secret Pentagon paper, the developing countries are to supply strategic raw materials for the arms buildup. Of the countries in the Near East, Central America and Asia it is demanded that they give the United States neocolonial access to their petroleum. Africa and Latin America are intended to play the role of suppliers of materials as suitable for the weapons of the new generation.



A prominent element of this risky policy lies in involving the developing countries in the U.S. and other NATO states' aggressive military strategy. On 25 January 1983, the Indian paper PATRIOT disclosed a secret U.S. "global destabilization plan" against a number of developing countries, which states: "We must establish political supremacy over key strategic zones—the Caribbean, the Mediterranean, southern Africa, the Pacific and the Indian Ocean, including the Red Sea, the Gulf region and regions that produce important raw materials." With an eye to this oil-rich Gulf region and the raw material-rich south of Africa, this demand is raised: "Our military presence in the Indian Ocean must not only be substantial per se but must also be able to be rapidly reinforced." For that reason, a "demilitarization of the Indian Ocean" was to be rejected.

The Warsaw Pact states, in contrast, have again condemned the policy of force and confrontation and have resolutely opposed any desires to engage in hegemonial policy and create "interest or influence spheres." They have announced this: "Most relevant is the proposal on converting the Indian Ocean into a peace zone. An important role also would play the resumption and successful conclusion of Soviet-U.S. negotiations on limiting and then reducing military activities in the Indian Ocean."<sup>3</sup> At the same time, the Warsaw Pact states seek not to expand the action radius of the military coalitions to Asia, Africa and Latin America. Thereby they are opposing the aggressive NATO plans for expanding its action radius to the Near and Middle East, for instance.

The dangerous military-strategic U.S. designs are also served by copious financial and material allocations, e.g., to the aggressor Israel or the terrorist regime in the Republic of South Africa, in Honduras and in Guatemala, who are virtually being encouraged to enforce their own anti-people, racist and expansionist goals with military means.

The fifth extraordinary session of the coordination bureau of the nonaligned movement already referred to was correct in giving as the cause for the conflicts that have arisen, e.g. in Central America and in the Caribbean area, "the stronger imperialist intervention in the internal affairs of the states in that region."<sup>4</sup> There is the danger inherent in such hotbeds of conflict that they will spread into wild-fire conflagrations. It was perfectly apt for the Prague Declaration from the Warsaw Pact states to emphasize "that recovery in the world situation greatly depends on the elimination of existing and the prevention of new military conflicts in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions."<sup>5</sup> The socialist countries take it for granted that a provocation in any given region can turn into a world conflagration, into a nuclear war that would destroy everything. They resolutely advocate arms limitation and disarmament and using some of the means thereby released for assisting the developing countries.

In contrast, the imperialist confrontation and arms buildup course implies not only the danger of a nuclear catastrophe but also does great damage to the development of the national economies in those countries. The fact is that the escalation of tension and conflicts in those regions makes those states boost their military budgets and so withholds important means needed for the vital necessity to eliminate backward development. At all that, the economic and social situation in the vast majority of the liberated countries is extremely intricate anyway. U.S. high interest policy alone led a number of developing countries directly to the edge of the abyss. To avert their bankruptcy,

as many as 16 developing countries had to subject themselves to 47 multilateral debt conversion negotiations between 1956 and 1980, 11 countries between 1975 and 1980 alone. The total debt of the developing countries in 1982, according to OECD, came to \$ 640 billion.

The United States and other aggressive imperialist circles count on making the developing countries more malleable through these gigantic burdens. It is being suggested to them that their way out of this situation would be for them to open their economies, no holds barred, to the multinationals. The truth is that the expansion of multinational capital investments in some developing countries, precisely at this time in view of the intensified crisis manifestations in the imperialist countries, is meant to shore up the profit economy. For all that, every dollar invested this way produces multiples in profit. While U.S. capital investments in developing countries rose by more than \$ 23 billion between 1976 and 1980, they brought in an accounted-for net profit of \$ 51 billion. Of that, 34 billion got transferred to the United States, which is tantamount to withdrawing enormous means from the national income produced in those countries. In total, the imperialist states and multinationals extract annually up to circa \$ 90 billion from the developing countries.<sup>6</sup>

Despite all the great efforts, the developing countries' proportion in total capitalist world production rose only by 4 percent within 20 years. Right now it lies around 18 percent. Their disparities from the capitalist industrial countries have not been diminished. For years there has been in the per capita income between the two groups of countries--and that is the yardstick for how vast the gap is--a ratio of 13 to 1 in favor of the imperialist countries.

Especially serious are the social consequences of this underdevelopment for the mass of the population. The chairman of the Sixth Summit Conference of the Non-aligned States, Fidel Castro, mentioned the following facts: In the developing countries, 570 million people are undernourished, 1.5 billion are without all medical care, 1.03 billion have no place to live, and life expectancy is below 60 years of age. A total of 1.1 billion is unemployed, 1.3 billion have an annual income below \$ 90, 800 million adults can neither read nor write, and 250 million children do not attend any school.

The consequences of the hegemonial aggressive policy of imperialism, of the stronger inroads foreign capital is making in liberated states, thus essentially are the same as at the time when Karl Marx uncovered the roots of colonialism. The "process of bleeding to death" caused by the multinationals, which control a large part of the developmental countries' farm product and raw material trade, occupy important positions in their economies, and impose on them new forms of dependency, the scientific-technical type, for instance, even has reached new dimensions.<sup>7</sup> That is the reason why the underdevelopment colonialism left behind could only in part be eliminated in the years of political independence. In the final analysis it is an essential cause for that the objective contradictions in interests between the vast majority of the developing countries--including those that have opted for the capitalist way of development--and imperialism not only continue to exist but have in fact been deepened.

## Jointly Surmounting the Colonialist Legacy

The communists and other revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces are looking for realistic answers to the question how the colonialist legacy can be surmounted. While orienting their struggle to the preservation and safeguarding of world peace, they are developing a constructive program the enforcement of which also is most vital to the former colonial and dependent countries. The resolute peace policy by real socialism and the activities by all the peace and progress forces are gaining more and more respect and are setting examples. More and more people begin to realize today that real socialism and the other chief revolutionary currents of our age not only constitute the central target for the most aggressive imperialist circles but that they also are the decisive force for calling a halt to the imperialist confrontation and arms escalation policy and to imperialism's seeking world supremacy, while they join forces with all others interested in peace along a broad anti-war front.

The peoples in the nationally liberated states realize that that also broadens their action radius and enhances their chances to release internal capacities and tap available resources so as to cope with their great construction effort. They realize more and more that under conditions of peaceful coexistence far better opportunities arise, in their carrying out their national interests, for effectively resorting to the encompassing solidarity and the vast political as well as the considerable economic and scientific-technical aid from real socialism. The CEMA countries, for one thing, provide all sort of support to setting up and reconstructing metallurgical enterprises and other heavy industry projects in the developing countries. Enterprises set up with help from the socialist countries remain the national property of the countries in the territories of which they are built. In contrast to international monopolies, the socialist countries raise no claim to property rights or profit produced. As to agriculture—which in most developing countries continues to be the most important sector of the national economy—the socialist states assist in new cultivation, setting up irrigation aggregates, establishing plants that produce farm machinery and enterprises that process farm products. Of eminent importance is the socialist states' aid in setting up educational systems and in training the national cadre of the developing countries.

The relations that have evolved between the socialist and the liberated states deeply conform with the principles of respect for sovereignty, nonintervention in internal affairs, equality and reciprocal advantage. Now already in many cases they not insignificantly help consolidate the national independence of the once colonially suppressed peoples, open up their own potentials, and purposefully tackle their surmounting their colonial legacy. True to their Marxist-Leninist position on the recognition of the nations' right to self-determination, and to their resolute internationalist conduct, the countries of real socialism appear as the closest allies of the national liberation movement. "The young countries that freed themselves from the colonial yoke," Comrade Yuri Andropov has said, "now go through the by no means easy time of constituting themselves as nations and of social development. Yet we are certain that resolute resistance against imperialism, a well planned strategy for economic and sociopolitical development, and mutual respect for interests and rights will make it possible for the peoples in those countries to overcome what is called growing pains."<sup>8</sup>

Economic matters in the international arena enjoy a high place value in this context. In the struggle for equal economic relations within the framework of a "new international economic order," there is taking shape ever more clearly, and in view of the imperialist confrontation and arms escalation course, a broad anti-imperialist frontline shared between real socialism and the nationally liberated states. Anti-imperialist forces in developing countries realize now more clearly that only through joint struggle against the most aggressive imperialist circles and for securing peace in the world successes can be achieved in seeking to enforce the principle of equality and non-discrimination in international economic relations. Thus the foreign ministers of the nonaligned states, at their June 1982 conference in Havana reaffirmed their resolve "to defend peace, independence and national sovereignty as well as free economic and social development, equality and self-determination, and change the prevailing system of international relations that relies on injustice, inequality and exploitation."

Turning back the imperialist policy of supremacy, diktat, blackmail and discrimination in international economic relations not only meets with the elemental needs of the developing countries but is the business of all peoples and states and serves securing peace, national independence and political sovereignty. In that sense the Warsaw Pact states reaffirmed their "advocating a just and democratic transformation of the international economic relations, establishing a 'new international economic order,' and ensuring a full sovereignty of the countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania over their natural resources."<sup>9</sup>

#### Socialist Alternative for the Course of Development

Even in the years of the colonial liberation struggles, many revolutionaries and revolutionary-democratic forces were moved by the question about an alternative for the capitalist course of development, for resolutely surmounting the colonial legacy and shaping a new society, free from exploitation. They found their answers in Marx, Engels and Lenin and took their teachings as impetus and action guideline. So the FRELIMO President, Samora Moises Machel, at his party's third congress in 1977 announced: "Marxism-Leninism constitutes the theoretical synthesis of the rich experiences of the suppressed classes and peoples in the whole world, gathered in centuries of struggle against the exploiters, for the purpose of establishing a new power. Creatively applied to the process of our own struggle and developed, it is a mighty shining beam that illumines the way the working classes have taken in constructing the new society."

There is one cardinal problem with respect to development which Marx and Engels already discussed: whether the ultimately unavoidable "development process toward socialist society could be much shortened in the countries that had just fallen prey to capitalist production and still salvaged some innocuous facilities or rests of it."<sup>10</sup> Marx and Engels as well as Lenin came to the realization that through a fundamental change in the power ratio for the benefit of the international workers class and through the appropriate aid and model effect of victorious socialism it should be possible to shorten the development that way.<sup>11</sup> Such a development is so complicated that, as



history and present times demonstrate, the revolutionary forces are obliged to engage in tough struggles for securing their revolutionary power and mobilizing the working masses, struggles against the domestic counterrevolution and the foreign reaction, and against imperialism and neocolonialism. Especially in those countries that, normally, have no proletariat or only a weak one, what matters is to conform to the demand from Lenin to "translate genuine communist doctrine into the language of any given people."<sup>12</sup>

Applying the universal inevitabilities of the socialist revolution and of socialist construction is possible only when one is thoroughly acquainted with and carefully takes into account the extraordinary diversity in the historic developments of tribes and peoples, the productive forces, the socioeconomic conditions, the ideological and religious persuasions and the specific traditions in those countries and all the particulars left behind by the colonial regime that ruled in the past.

In view of the already mentioned place value of agriculture in the liberated countries, it becomes perfectly understandable that those revolutionary forces especially deal with the statement from Marx that pointed to the need for bringing about, together with national independence, the "agrarian revolution" and to develop modern productive forces.

"Whether the general economic growth of the nation stagnates or increases," so says the report to the second congress of the commission for organizing a workers party in Ethiopia in January 1983, "depends on accelerated growth or stagnation (Author: of the agriculture), which holds a considerable share in the production and employment situation. Agriculture has been given the greatest attention since the start of the revolution for expanding the economy and enhancing social achievements."

History teaches us that the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America have not in the same manner, at the same time and under the same domestic and external conditions taken the road to socialism. That comports with Lenin's prediction that "further revolutions in the countries of the East, that are vastly more populated and are marked by a far greater variety of social relations, will serve up to them (Author: the observers of revolutions) still more peculiarities, no doubt, than the Russian revolution."<sup>13</sup>

The countries on the socialist course of development stand in the forefront of the struggle against the imperialist confrontation policy. At them the massive imperialist attacks are aimed since it does not want to take into account that formerly colonially enslaved peoples find the alternative for exploitation and suppression in socialism. One is afraid their example might affect other developing countries as well. So a policy of exporting the counter-revolution is being practiced to an unprecedented degree and globally recognized standards of international law are rigorously ignored.

Struggles conducted in different parts of the world and in different ways are all closely interconnected. The Latin American communists, e.g., correctly point out in a statement of 21 November 1982 that the counterrevolutionary "plan for intervention in Central America follows the same line as the war provocations which find their typical expression in the deployment of U.S.

missiles in Europe, the systematic sabotage of disarmament negotiations, and the diplomatic and military backing for the Israeli genocide." That makes possible and calls for the collaboration of the most diversified forces along a broad front. Such collaboration not only ensures that human civilization is protected from the peril of extinction. It also establishes the preconditions for tackling with a reasonable chance of success as global a problem as the underdevelopment of the liberated states, the solution of which mankind is approaching on the threshold to a new millenium.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR EINHEIT ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 38 No 3/4, Mar-Apr 83 (signed to press 18 Feb 83) 'Resumes' addendum pp 37-40

The Personality of Karl Marx

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Heinrich Gemkow, deputy director, Institute for Marxism-Leninism, SED Central Committee; pp 259-265]

[Text] What sort of man was Marx who from being a burgher's son so resolutely turned into a communist? How did he become the creator of the communist world-outlook and the steward of the workers class, respected and loved worldwide? How did his friendship with Friedrich Engels stand up? The answer to these and other questions draws an impressive picture; features of his personality are conveyed that bring him closer to us as a revolutionary and impassioned fighter for the happiness of mankind.

Peace--International Principle of Socialism

[Summary of article by Guenter Sieber, member, department chief, SED Central Committee; pp 266-271]

[Text] Peace--the ideal and combat goal of the revolutionary workers movement from the very time it emerged. An analysis of contemporary imperialism brings out the connection between imperialism and war which had already been worked out by Marx, Engels and Lenin, unmasks the "mystery" of war and reminds us: The womb is fertile still which brings forth war. The fight for peace--a feasible task and the most important political concern of socialism. The all-encompassing political peace initiative by the Warsaw Pact countries coming out of the Prague Conference.

## The Historic Mission of the Workers Class

[Summary of article by Dr Klaus Gaebler, member, department chief, SED Central Committee; pp 272-279]

[Text] In explaining how Marx understood the objective, historically necessary mission of the workers class, the implications are derived from it for the class struggle in our time. How is the workers class ripening in our country? Which challenges does it have to meet in the 1980's in its alliance with all working people? Refuting antisocialist contentions, the article proves that the world historic workers class mission is constantly widening its action radius in all three main revolutionary currents of our age.

## Lenin and the Creative Character of Our Weltanschauung

[Summary of article by Dr Gerhard Fricke, director, Department of CPSU History and Policy, Karl Marx Party College, SED Central Committee; pp 280-286]

[Text] While coming to grips with designs by bourgeois ideologues at contriving contradictions between Marx' and Lenin's work, this is being proved: Leninism has stood up and is standing up as the Marxism in the era of imperialism and of the transition from capitalism to socialism because Lenin dealt with it as a creative theory and enriched and extended it by new insights due to new class struggle conditions. That is substantiated particularly by the theory of revolution, the doctrine of the new type of party, and the plan for socialist construction.

## "Proletarians of All Countries, Unite!"

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Harald Neubert, director, Institute for International Workers Movement, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; pp 287-293]

[Text] Proletarian internationalism, established by Marx together with the world historic mission of the workers class as the basic principle of scientific socialism, a fundamental component of the ideology and policy of the revolutionary workers movement, in the struggles of our time. The vitality of internationalism in the struggle for safeguarding world peace and for social progress. The higher demands made on the internationalist responsibility of the workers class in developing joint activities between the communist and workers parties in conformity with the requirements of our time.



## The Stimulating Effect of the Performance Principle

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Otto Reinhold, economist, member, SED Central Committee; rector, Academy of Social Sciences, SED CC; member, GDR Academy of Sciences; corresponding member, USSR Academy of Sciences; member, EINHEIT editorial board; pp 301-307. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "'Recent Measures' of Remuneration Incentives Assessed as Valid," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] The author takes as his point of departure the Marxist realization that the distribution relations conform to specific social forms of the production process and that the distribution principles can never be more highly developed than the prevailing mode of production, in analyzing the connection between the economic transition to intensively expanded reproduction and the effect of the performance principle, disclosing its effect on the qualitative growth factors and everyone's responsibility for it, and demonstrating that the distribution principles are basic principles in economic and social development.

## Intensification and Economic Cycle

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Helmut Koziolk, economist, member, SED Central Committee; director, Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management, SED CC; chairman, Council for Economic Research; member, GDR Academy of Sciences; member, EINHEIT editorial board; pp 308-315. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "'Buyers' Demands' to Determine 'Organization of Production,'" in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] With his economic cycles theory, Marx set the scientific basis for intensification. Proceeding from that, and by supplying many concrete data, conclusions are drawn for the rigorous intensification of our economy. Among the questions raised and answered are the following: What makes intensification necessary? What are its criteria and characteristics? How can all the intrinsic sources of the economic cycle be made maximally effective down to the speed-up of circulation?

## Higher Productivity of the 'Social Total Worker'

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Claus Kroemke, economist, deputy department chief, SED Central Committee; pp 316-322. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Combines Seen as Foundation of 'Economic Strategy for 1980's,'" in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] Always rediscovering the wealth of ideas in the Marxist theory is as necessary as it is profitable for answering all the many questions which life has raised in the implementation of the 10th party congress decisions.

That includes the question of how to achieve a higher productivity and efficiency on the part of the "social total worker." From a concrete analysis of practice and the increasing requirements, conclusions are drawn, especially for management activity in our combines.

#### Materialist Dialectics--Theoretical Instrument to Master the Revolutionary Tasks of Our Era

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Wolfgang Eichhorn I, member, GDR Academy of Sciences; member, GDR Academy of Pedagogic Sciences; pp 323-329]

[Text] The materialist dialectics is the philosophic core of Marxism-Leninism. Its strict application and defense are fundamental for solving the problems mankind is facing today and for taking issue with bourgeois ideology and any other metaphysics in the class struggle in our time. What does it mean resolutely to bear in mind the materialist dialectics as a decisive element in our party's social strategy? What are its implications for our revolutionary thoughts and actions?

#### Leader and Adviser of the German and International Workers Movement

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Erich Kundel, department chief, Institute for Marxism-Leninism, SED Central Committee; pp 370-375]

[Text] Even in his lifetime, Karl Marx was the most important leader, adviser and theoretician of the German and international workers movement. Together with Friedrich Engels he created, in the Communist League, the first proletarian party with which the triumphant march of the communist world movement began, and he was the creator, leader and organizer of the First International which laid the cornerstone for the formation of revolutionary mass parties in the various countries. Nor was his a slight contribution to the founding of the SDAP in 1869 in Eisenach which with his and Engels' help developed into the leading party of the First International.

#### From Workers' Chemnitz to Socialist Karl-Marx-Stadt

[Summary of article by Siegfried Lorenz, social scientist, member, SED Central Committee; first secretary, SED Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk Management; pp 376-382]

[Text] The development of "Saxon Manchester" into the second largest industrial bezirk of the republic gives evidence to the vitality of Marxism on German soil. The struggle of the revolutionary German SPD, the KPD and the anti-fascist resistance found its fulfilment in socialism. The labor achievements of Adolf Hennecke and the competition appeals

by Karl-Marx-Stadt working people are among the signposts for the development of the bezirk and of the entire republic. The working people are accomplishing high objectives in 1983 under the slogan, "Karl Marx Lives in Us and Our Deeds."

#### Historic Trend of Capitalist Accumulation and General Crisis of Capitalism

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Lutz Maier, economist, deputy director, GDR Institute for Politics and Economics; pp 390-396]

[Text] How do we know that the decline of capitalism is inevitable? How did Marx explain that capitalism, due to its inherent laws of economic motion, itself produces the conditions that will eventually overcome it in the revolutionary way? How did Lenin extend that idea in the last stage of capitalism, when its replacement had moved onto the agenda as a practical issue of the class struggle? How is the Marxist-Leninist theory substantiated through the on-going processes that further aggravate the general crisis?

5885

CSO: 2300/252

REGIME'S ATTEMPTS TO SMOTHER JENA PEACE MOVEMENT REPORTED

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 37 No 22, 30 May 83 pp 25-26

['GDR' feature article: "A Certain Kind of Young Generation--The GDR Seeks to Weaken the Unofficial Peace Movement in the Country Through the Bigges Expatriation Action Since 1976." For related information see translations of two West German articles published under quoted headings in the following JPRS issues of this series: "Release of Seven Jena Dissidents, Fate of Others Discussed," 83423, 6 May 83, No 2138, pp 54-62: "Pacifists Demand Stronger Church Involvement in Peace Issue," 83558, 26 May 83, No 2145, pp 37-40]

[Text] Peter Kahler dared not push his luck too far. Around 4:30 he met about 40 friends from the peace community for a demonstration at Johannistor in Jena. It was the Thursday before Pentecost, and he marched with the group, which was carrying banners proclaiming "Swords to Plowshares" and "No Peace, No Future," until he reached the marketplace. Then he had to hurriedly bid his friends adieu.

A short time later, the young man, who has a history of vexing the East German authorities with his songs ("Your Honor, Does your conscience keep you from sleeping, when, because of you, the people are weeping?"), was on the fast train to Berlin. The reason was that he had been informed three days earlier that the GDR regime was intending to renounce him. His recourse was to pack his bags and head for the West.

Kahler was not alone. Before Pentecost, 13 other adults and six children from Jena were shipped off to West Berlin. Through such actions, the regime is trying to eradicate the perennial unrest among its youth.

For years now, authorities in the college town in Thuringen have been tangling with a few dozen rebellious youths who have been voicing their opinions on democracy, socialism, ecology and peace. But the youths have given more than just lip service to their ideas.

They have been refusing to serve in the military; they have been distributing postcards or stickers against war and violence; they secretly snap photographs of members of the national security service in action. The pacifists demonstrated for disarmament by the East and the West three times in the last six months--on Christmas, on 18 March, and on the Thursday before Pentecost.



Each time, skirmishes broke out with the members of the national security force and party loyalists, the latter of whom strictly adhere to the party's stance of "Make Peace against NATO Weapons."

Until now, authorities have responded by subjecting the young people to interrogations, by taking them into custody, and by imprisoning them. Success was slow in coming. Although the peace activists did not halt their activities, they did split into two camps. One of these is still carrying out its activities in the GDR in spite of pressure from the government. Members of the other, however, have requested permission to leave the country.

And party functionaries are using that to their advantage. They hope to wipe out the group through mass deportations. As Kahler says, "They have tried to excise the nucleus of our peace movement--which had been growing."

Among the expatriates who have found asylum with friends in West Berlin are Manfred Hildebrandt, Stefan Ziegen and Michael Rost, who, as Kahler, were temporarily held under arrest at the end of last year and at the beginning of this year because of their peace activities. Included among the most active participants in Jena were Rost's wife, Dorothea, Kahler's girlfriend, Petra Falkenberg, and conscientious objector Bernd Albrecht.

Also deported were Sabine Weinz, fiancée of sculptor Michael Blumhagen, who himself had been sent West several months ago following his arrest; Uwe Sinnig; Christin Klingenberg; Uwe Behr and his wife, Ute; and Ullrich Schlutter and his wife, Marianne.

And they were only the first of a steady stream. Almost daily since Pentecost, new arrivals have joined friends in the West. The SED strategists have been highly effective in their campaign against the peace groups. In preparing for the thorough uprooting of the unofficial peace organizations, the SED strategists have set into motion the most extensive deportation program since 1976, when the singer Wolf Biermann and numerous literary figures were expatriated.

Meanwhile, peace groups are persevering in Berlin, Dresden, Cottbus, Schwerin, Weimar and Suhl. On the Thursday before Pentecost, several persons were temporarily held under arrest in the small city of Apolda near Weimar after having summoned a peace demonstration. Two weekends ago, Potsdam authorities detained a young man, who, while bearing a sign reading "Swords to Plowshares," had attempted to force his way into a Pentecost rally staged by the Free German Youth (FDJ).

Jorg Knaack, one of those arrested in Apolda, was deported to the West on Thursday of last week. On Friday, four other members of the Jena peace community were registered at the Bavarian border checkpoint of Ludwigsstadt. The exiled peace movement members from Jena now living in Berlin expected another group of deportees on the weekend. This time several families from Weimar and Adolda were anticipated. Ex-Jenaer Bernd Albrecht, whose wife Liane entered West Berlin on Friday of last week, summed up the situation by saying, "When it will all end, no one knows."

The expatriates are nonetheless enthused by the continued peace efforts in the GDR. Yet, they realize that their cohorts still in the homeland must live with the fear "that they can be arrested and thrown into prison at any time," as Kahler pointed out.

However, SED functionaries are now trying a new tactic on the pacifists, as was seen during the official peace rally by the party youth on the Thursday before Pentecostal Sunday. For a while, the pacifists, who carried out their own style of rally, were free to do as they wished.

Then, upon a feigned public outcry against the pacifists, Blueshirts--members of the Free German Youth--seized several banners, according to one eye witness. Afterwards, Roland Jahn, who is well known among Jena activists, was allowed to say a few words over the microphone. Then a marshal pulled the plug--the experiment had come to a rapid, and intended, end.

Nevertheless, the milieu will not revert to silence and serenity. According to ex-Jenaer Peter Rosch, the wave of those leaving the country has weakened the peace groups, but there will always be a "certain element among the young generation." Rosch states, "The authorities think they are reestablishing a quiet atmosphere, but they are deluding themselves." And Blumhagen maintains, "For each one who leaves, three remain behind."

Yet, those who have left are definitely in the majority, for the Jena peace community numbers only around 40 in Jena, while it is about twice that size in West Berlin.

12399

CSO: 2300/259

• PRODUCTIVITY HIGHER ON ONE'S OWN TIME

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 4 May 83 p 5

/Article by Miklos Monus: "Everyone Is an Outstanding Worker on Weekends"/

/Text/ The well-known expression of competitive bidding "Who will give more?" has been modified at the Mechanical Works into "Who will undertake it for less?" It is not valuable furniture or rare stamps that are being auctioned off, but the drawing designs for tools under preparation. The bidder, the enterprise and the business are all gainers, owing to a practice which has only recently gained ground but is already supported by the instructions of managing directors.

The greatest advantage of the method is summarized as follows by those sitting on the opposite sides of an imaginary table: Janos Heinrich, technical manager: "Costs are noticeably decreasing." Laszlo Horvath, business work partnership manager: "Our income is noticeably increasing."

It is a rest day.

The streets by the factory which has been established between Budapest and Erd are empty. On looking closer at one of the houses--from the distance a well-disposed person may think it is a recreation site--it becomes evident that this is a tool factory. It is run-down on the outside but attractive on the inside. Not in being freshly painted, because it is not, but attractive if we regard as such coordinated work with men in harmonious motion and with machines that operate continuously.

An Everyday Miracle

The tool factory is in fact operating.

"Sorry to bother you, but are you working overtime?"

"No," replies the young man without looking up from the machine or away from the piece of work he has in the machine.

"What then?"

"Excuse me, I don't have time. I am doing VGM /Enterprise Business Work Partnership/. Talk to Vilmos Gonda, the deputy department head who has come in on his own time as he does every Saturday."

Vilmos Gonda is the deputy department head responsible for the tool production of the enterprise. He points all around, and almost unbelievably the tired look on his face disappears. He says:

"What is happening here is a miracle."

Weeeell!

As characterized by his own colleagues, Vilmos Gonda sees the whole world through tool production. According to him, the sun shines the most favorably on tool manufacturers, the noble values of the art are irreplaceable because in recognizing these the toolmakers acquire new inner energies.

"What does this so-called miracle consist of?"

"Since almost two-thirds of the workers in the factory have organized into VGMs, the production factories receive their tools, on the average, within 3 to 4 months from the date of the order and not within a year or 2 for half the cost and in perfect quality.

"The post office ordered shatterproof, tamperproof coin slots for the public telephones to be installed. Tools were needed for their manufacture. The tool factory could not undertake the work immediately because its capacities were tied down by tasks assigned to it according to original plans. As provided by the internal rule, the production factory first called for bids from outside firms and not from VGMs. According to the most favorable response, it would have been only by the end of 1983 that the first shatterproof coin slot could have been run off. The post office did not accept this deadline. Therefore, the enterprise called for bids from the toolmaking VGMs operating within the premises. The VGMs were able to deliver the finished tool within 3 months at half the price demanded by the external business. The coin slots on telephones recently installed were made with this tool."

In Half the Time, For Half the Price

"One designing and two toolmaking VGMs are operating at the factory. Since they were established--less than 10 months ago--the enterprise has saved 1.15 million forints on tool manufacture. The tools which they made at a total cost of 850,000 forints would have been estimated by external businesses at 2 million forints."

"A further advantage of the VGMs," Vilmos Gonda continued, "is that most of the machines are running a shift and a half as compared with the former one shift. When the regular work is finished, some of the machines continue to be operated on Saturday and Sunday. It is not a matter of indifference to an enterprise whether the expensive pieces of equipment it has purchased stand idle or are producing."



Subsequently one of the skilled workers said:

"The greatest advantage of the VGMs is that we remain at the enterprise."

Gyorgy Kovacs and Janos Endresz are saving to buy a house. Ferenc Nemeth and Ference Winter are trying to save up for furniture. Under all conditions, it is due to the VGMs that the necessary sums are being earned not at small shops or in the second economy but at the enterprise itself. If they were unable to earn the extra money, they would probably have moved on.

As they explain, the important thing for the time being is not their free time or rest but money. They will be glad to do the additional work for several years, and "once we are straightened out we will be satisfied with wages from one shift." "It depends on us how much additional work we want to do, one cannot go on doing this for very long, but he can as long as he is young and needs the money for basic things."

#### Necessity Decides

According to the original idea, all the workers of the tool factory would have established a single VGM. But a large number of workers would not agree to this. One of them was Ferenc Horvath:

"After deductions, a member gets on the average 60 forints for an hour of very hard work. Not for 1 hour of being on the job, but for work! You don't get money in the VGMs for snacking or having a cigarette. For this reason, we look over very carefully at whom we accept among us."

"It is not the workers or the enterprise managers who decide whether the VGMs will have work, but necessity. The orders they receive are tasks in addition to the plan."

At present four VGMs are functioning at the Mechanical Works. On basis of the favorable experiences gained from their operation, most of the enterprise managers and workers believe it is worthwhile to enter into contracts with an support those who are inclined to the undertaking. Twelve new ones are being organized for after-hours work by outstanding workers.

6691

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PROVINCIAL AKTIV ACTIVITIES NOTED

Discussion on National Aktiv Meeting

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKI in Polish 8 Apr 83 p 2

[Article by: A.L.]

[Text] The national conference of the workers' aktiv was a true expression of our social life. Meetings of the workforce, of the 2,300 delegates who represented them at the Warsaw deliberations, are taking place throughout the entire country. One of such meetings was conducted at the Municipal Communications Enterprise in Poznan. Jan Lekarczyk, driver, and one of the representatives of the Poznan region, met with the representatives of the workforce.

The meeting ran a varied course: beginning with the personal account, through an essential presentation, to an objective value of the deliberation, and up to a discussion and responses to the numerous questions. "Because of the large number of discussants (over 80 had come forward)," J. Lekarczyk reported, "individual presentations were limited to a few minutes. The hall responded spontaneously," said J. Lekarczyk. "There were also presentations that were well-prepared and whitewashed. These were quickly caught and expression of censure was given.

"We did not get together there only to acquiesce and give our approval. Improper conditions existing in plants were criticized in many resolute presentations. The delegates expressed great displeasure in speaking of the social injustice that was created by groups of native [millionaires]. It is all the more revolting--because no one has any grudge against those who are affluent but honest--that a considerable part of that wealth grew through scheming, and taking advantage of the crisis phenomena. Numerous demands came up in the address by the Ministry of Health, (the plan for initiating repayment for sanatorium treatment, among other things), and also the departments of construction and prices. It was carried on vigorously, and no one who deserved it was spared."

Numerous questions came from the audience after the address by J. Lekarczyk. This attested not only to their trust in their delegate, but also to the hopes which the workers associate with similar deliberations and with the possibility

of expressing their own opinions. At the Warsaw deliberations, over 700 motions were recorded so as to be instrumental in the preparation and fulfillment of stabilization programs.

#### Comments on National Aktiv Meeting

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 8 Apr 83 p 4

[Article by: M.A.G.]

[Text] As it is well known, the national workers' aktiv meeting took place in Warsaw on 30 March. It was a form of workers' debate on government savings and anti-inflationary programs, as well as a form of discourse by workforce representatives with political and government administration authorities on the subject of what must be done in our country so as to bounce back from the proverbial hole and overcome the crisis in which we have found ourselves. This was not a conversation on the plane of "we" the workers, and "they" the authorities, carried on in an atmosphere of generalizations and euphemisms. The words which were spoken were substantive and uncompromising, and the examples--both negative and positive--were drawn most often from the [speakers' own factories].

A treatment of the comments in the discussion, which proceeded during the meeting, was already included in the 1 April issue of GLOS WYBRZEZA. Because of a time shortage, many speakers turned over their comments to the official record of the conference. We would now like to present a portion of them to our readers, especially those excerpts which deal with problems of broader, nationwide significance.

Council participants brought attention to the need for compliance with regulations in carrying out the initiation process of new economic mechanisms in enterprises and a closer relationship between real production costs and the market price of the products.

Stanislaw Domeradski, foreman at the Pomorsk Machine Construction Enterprise in Bydgoszcz, stated that--in the context of the anti-inflationary program--problems in employing income tax demand solution. such solutions that will force enterprises to lower production costs are needed. For part of the profit, arising from cleared and documented savings, as well as cuts in prime costs, he suggested a proportional tax in the amount of 20 percent. S. Domeradzki also stated, that the basic measure of value of enterprise activity should be the output sold, computed in simple units, or the net production.

Jan Jablonski, an ironworker-welder, in the name of the workforce at the Coke Works in Zdzeszowice, protested against the activities by other enterprises strengthening an unjustified price movement to assure themselves the means for wage increases. Such conditions should be created within the framework of economic reforms in which enterprises would have the means to increase salaries, taking full advantage of their production strengths, fulfilled plans and not producing unsaleable goods.

As a rule, the labor shortage is a familiar complaint in our economy. In the opinion of the workers participating in the meeting, substantial reserves are in the overgrowth of administration. Teresa Grenda, quality controller at the ELWA Radio Subassembly Factory in Kolobrzeg, made the proposal to carry out an all-Polish review of employment in trade, in offices as well as similar institutions, and to leave there only the essential number of workers, while delegating the excess to industry. A similar proposal was submitted by Marian Wichrzycki, a worker at the UNITRA-CEMI Semiconductor Center in Warsaw, who suggested that every branch of industry be assigned a proportional number of employed laborers and non-production workers, so that--in this way--the new excess in manpower would be directed there where it is most needed.

Boleslaw Stonawski--deputy director of the factory union in the Stilon Synthetic Textile Works in Grozow Wielkopolski--stated that a manpower glut is occurring in certain regions of the country. Therefore, it would be worth it for the regional authorities at the lowest echelons to work out an employment balance, in agreement with the factories operating in their regions. This would allow a better understanding of the labor market.

Michal Zelek--foreman at the Paper Works in Glucholazy (Opole Province)--also presented this problem, giving the example of his own enterprise: "We cannot find new laborers because the work is difficult, the pay is low, and there is no visible inflation curve in [the pay]. The result is such that one paper machine stands idle daily, while the factory works in 2 rather than 3 shifts. We believe that, in this situation, the work cannot be treated only as a praiseworthy duty, but definite elements of compulsion are also essential there. Perhaps, then, it would be wise to close a portion of the factories and firms producing nonsaleable goods. Then we would have an additional laborforce..."

A good deal of space in the presentations, submitted to the record of the meeting, was devoted to the saving of fuel and raw materials. Jan Gorski--engineer at the Szczecin-Wzgorze Hetmanskie Polish State Railways [PKP] Locomotive Shop--brought attention to the current irrational system of operating diesel locomotives. He suggested a reintroduction of the PKP scheduled service of diesel locomotives in long-distance runs. The profit from this move will be evident, because one of the important factors influencing the saving of fuel is the hand of the engineer, steering that same locomotive during its run. He likewise suggested a return to the practice of rewarding locomotive crews for secured savings in motor oils at monthly accountings. An increasing factor--in his opinion--in the use of liquid fuels in the railroad system, is the shortage of adequate numbers and sizes of locomotives. In the opinion of Stanislaw Pachota--managing director of the Southern Region Headquarters of the PKP in Krakow--ever greater potentials of savings of liquid fuels could be achieved through further electrification of railroad lines. Electrification of 100 kilometers of a line allows for annual savings of about 104,000 tons of coal, or close to 8,000 tons of motor oil. S. Pachota also stated that, although railroad transportation was found to be in the first place in 6 operating plans, this is not sensed in a sufficiently adequate manner in the railroads. For there is a general shortage of spare parts and other materials for the repair of trains. Certain substantial enough reserves exist likewise in the increased economy of liquid fuels in social management as well as rationalization of fuel allocation.



"The fact that firms with a substantial concentration of municipal production and goods receive the same quality of fuel as those which have a diffuse scope and area of activity is intolerable," states Jerzy Krajniewski, steel construction foreman at the Bydgoszcz Industrial Construction Enterprise. He also suggested, if possible, a quick withdrawal from industrial transport by automobiles using gasoline, and substituting for them vehicles run on diesel.

The fulfillment of the savings program must also make allowances for taking advantage of modern technological ideas and stimulate workers' inventiveness. Concrete examples of such solutions were given by Jerzy Czaja, a worker-leader from the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] circle at the Glinka Boring and Mining Factory in Gorlice where, in a very short time period during the second half of last year, an anti-import production of medium-sized drills for draining lignite deposits in Belchatow was initiated. The cost of such a drill abroad was about 28,000 West German marks. The factory was notified of an annual order for about 750 of such drills, until 1985. J. Czaja suggested the creation of efficiency-raising brigades of workers-engineers, a reintroduction of savings exchanges directly in production departments, and a reactivation of social design offices.

Similar work was also undertaken by workers at the Towimor Ship Equipment Plant in Torun. As the chairman of the Trade Unions [ZZ] of the ZSMP in this plant, Piotr Kozianowski, informed [us], industrial production of new deck cranes is beginning in Towimor. This equipment allows the savings of close to 40 percent in metallurgic materials. This is also an anti-import production, a move which was made possible thanks to the creation of good construction facilities and closer cooperation between the Institute for Aviation Technology and the Warsaw Applied Engineering Institute of Technology.

Wage incentives should also adequately induce workers to save. According to Ryszard Janiszewski, lathe operator in the Poznan Centra Electro-Chemical Works, the wages of people who are responsible for management should be tied to the savings results, and the mechanical engineering staff should be considered in the same way as the workers. An engineer, lowering the cost of materials, should--by virtue of this--be realizing a high income.

A good deal of controversies among the participants in the meeting inspired a government proposal of introducing--within the framework of an anti-inflation program--a countervailing tax on wages. Franciszek Walkowiak--lathe operator at the Mala Panew Works in Ozimek (Opole Province)--appealed that, in accomplishing the government programs, a too deeply reaching egalitarianism, which could discourage the inclusion of appropriate occupations requiring high qualifications and much experience, not be induced. He is also concerned about those occupations for which preferential wages are adapted, due to their strenuous or dangerous nature. In the opinion of F. Walkowiak, the application of new taxation rules for crafts and private specialty farms should also be treated with particular discretion. The commission of errors here--as he pointed out--could have catastrophic results. Boguslaw Klorek, fitter at the Mostostal Steel Construction and Industrial Equipment Enterprise in Poznan, stated frankly:

"I do not agree with the excerpt of the anti-inflationary draft plan, which deals with the countervailing tax. Used against workers in state enterprises, it will hit those who are most qualified. This tax must be applied toward those persons suffering great risks from other sources."

Doubt with respect to the government proposal was also expressed by Michal Mendyk--brigade overseer and chairman of the factory council in the China Works Cmielow (Tarnobrzeg Province): "To me and my coworkers, the proposal for a tax on earnings above one and a half times the national average is controversial. Especially among the workers employed in piecework, this could act as a brake to the growth in labor productivity. In this matter, we should also look at the aspect of working staff's stations which are essential to production, but burdensome and harmful to those employed."

During the course of the deliberations, problems in industrial working conditions dominated. Female workers from the social sector of the food economy were represented to a lesser degree, although their participation in the meeting was significant. Jan Kozlowski--foreman at the State Farms [PGR] in Strzelno (Bydgoszcz Province) sees PGR participation in anti-inflationary and savings activities in organizational undertakings aiming at, among other things: further increasing the yield per hectare through prompt and accurate agrotechnical measures; expanding cultivation of leguminous and papilionaceous crops with high protein content; and a solution to the problems involved in land reclamation, being the vital factor in the expansion of grain and livestock production. In the opinion of J. Kozlowski, the duty of raising a minimum number of livestock should be introduced into every private and collectivized farm as the goal of this last expansion.

Adam Juszczyk--ironworker and secretary of the PZPR Basic Party Organization [POP] in the Kluczewo Sugar Factory in Stargard Szczecinski--critically evaluated the national productivity of the sugar industry: "The Polish sugar industry produces an average of 2.5-3.5 tons per hectare, but should produce 5-7 tons. With optimal production, 150,000-200,000 hectares of land could be freed from beet cultivation. Sugar beet crops obtained in our country at a level of 250-350 quintals per hectare are an example of the waste of high quality cultivated land. In the opinion of A. Juszczyk, the losses which occur as a result of irregularities in the harvests, procurement centers and storage of beets, are also high. On a national scale, they take about 180,000-200,000 tons of sugar."

Participants in the meetings also discussed the need to expand control for the administrative and social distribution of regulated goods. Kazimierz Zieba--worker from the Rybnicka RYFAMA Mining Equipment Factory--proposed the liquidation of trade exchanges carried on between some plants and other enterprises. These goods should be found in the store, because trade between departments causes irritation and dissent in the majority of the public.

Leszek Marcinkowski--brigade overseer at the Polmo Automobile Works Factory in Szczecin--took a critical attitude toward the phenomena of the reselling of goods by some plants to their own workers. He declared himself in favor of doing away with all allocations not arising from collective agreements.

The phenomena of the pathology and the so-called social margin was the issue that perturbed especially the participants in the national workers' aktiv meeting. Stanislaw Rachwal, secretary of the PZPR Works' Committee [KZ] at the BATORY Works, stated:

"As before, many rebukes and heated discussions give rise to problems of loafers and so-called adventurers. We are certainly not in a position to frighten these people and to induce them to officially registered work. A good deal of their number must simply work under duress and under appropriate supervision."

Lechoslaw Stankiewicz--lathe operator at the Perspektywa Cooperative for the Disabled in Opole--brought attention to the fact that there exists in society a considerable number of people who live at the expense of the working masses. "The circle which I represent," he pointed out, "has a special right to remind them of the need to undertake more effective activities in order to liquidate the burdensome occurrences of social pathology, such as growing alcoholism, the plague of speculators, certain social circles enriching themselves in unjustified ways, as well as a fair number of people who notoriously shirk work. In the difficult period in which our state has found itself," he stated, "we cannot subsidize the easy life for shirkers."

#### Radom Socioeconomic Aktiv Meeting

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 8 Apr 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by: A.N.W.]

[Text] What should be done, and how, so as to bring order into the economy? How can the phenomena of inflation be averted? How should plans for economizing fuels and raw and other materials be accomplished in practice? These issues were the topic discussion during the meeting of the political socioeconomic aktiv of Radom Province.

Participating in it were the members of the PZPR Provincial Committee [KW] Secretariat, with First Secretary Bogdan Prus, who conducted the meeting; the governor, Col Alojzy Wojciechowski; chairman of the People's Provincial Council [WRN], Col Edward Jedruszewski; the secretaries of the PZPR Chief Headquarters [KG], KMiG, and Works' Committee (KZ); managers of enterprises; chairmen of trade unions and local governments; representatives of socioeconomic, youth and technical organizations, and state and financial control organs. Also present were the general manager of the Planning Committee under the Bureau of the cabinet [URM], Division Gen Jan Zielinski, and the deputy chief of the Economic Section of the CC PZPR, Henryk Pucilowski.

The KW PZPR secretary, Wlodzimierz Kocinski, presented an evaluation of the economic situation in the province for the past year and the first quarter of the current year. Among other things, he said:

"In 1982, we started the economic reconstruction of the country. This process was accompanied by the struggle to halt the regression in production and to break up the problems associated with economic restrictions. The active joining of the workforce to those demands, the formation of a consulting committee and the restoration of local governments, furthered honest work and allowed the securing of positive economic results, which placed the province in the leading position in the country."

Similar optimistic tendencies marked the economy of Radom province during the course of the last 3 months. Output sold rose by several percentage points in sewing machines, butter, cigarettes and cement, among other things. The production of assembly construction increased by one-third. However, this was also accompanied by negative occurrences which furthered inflation: a weak link between wage increases and work results, and the continued tendency toward large growth in people's financial resources. There is a good deal to be done here, precisely by party cells in factories as well as local governments. Progress in this measure, and--what follows this--the fulfillment of the 3-year plan, depends on them.

The economic plan for 1983-1985 was created in the mold of possible crises. Production growth of 14-16 percent during these years must be achieved with a reduction of one-half in the supplies of raw and other materials. The rise in national income must, above all, be accomplished through increased labor productivity.

What are the chances of accomplishing the resolutions contained in the economizing and anti-inflation programs?

"Good economic results in the province are accompanied by occurrences of unprofitable determinations," stressed the governor, Col Alojzy Wojciechowski. A drop in labor productivity, in the quality of goods, as well as in discipline [occurred]. A growth in the number of shortages also emerged with, at the same time, a hoisting up of wages unjustified by production growth. There are enterprises in which problems dealing with economizing have long been treated with the highest gravity--the Kozienice Power Station, Pronit Chemical Industry Works, and the Przyjazn Cement Plant. Among those neglecting the issue are the Radom Wood Industry Enterprise, Modar, and the SKR.

The lack of responsibility for the good quality of production can be noticed in numerous economic units. In the past year, the province lost up to 11 quality points; of this, 2 were Q points [mark of highest international quality standard]. Thus, an appropriate standing should be given to quality control. The question of employment should likewise be treated with greater concern. In spite of the appearance of excess, administrations still [let us hear from their side].

The following enterprise managers took a stand in the discussion on the questions flagged here: Henryk Saklinski from the Youth Union [ZM] in Przysuszy, Eugeniusz Rogala from the Drzewicki Gerlach Tableware Combine, Gerard Dulski--representing the WZSP, and Jan Darmas--manager of the RPB. An observation was made by the manager of the Regional Inspectorate for Fuel-Energy Economy in Radom, Antoni Plucinski.



He stressed the most important elements in the economizing program and pointed out the enormous possibilities of reducing the energy-intensiveness of production and services, with relatively small financial outlays, organizational changes, and the like. To illustrate this thesis, he cited, among others, the following examples: the ZM labor cooperative in Jedlina, and the Kozienicki Furniture Factory.

Division Gen Jan Zielinski also took a stand on the declaration of the discussants. He stressed that economizing--that is to say, rational management--is a very old concept. Yet only in the socioeconomic plan for 1983-1985 was it reinstated in its deserved position. The concern here is so that awareness of economizing would reach all workers, as well as those in positions of management. One percent in savings of materials is already 30 trains in processed matter, 1,500 tons of copper, 2,000 tons of aluminum. Above all, immediate savings, which would be quickest to realize, should be taken into consideration. In a sensible economy, no one will help us; we will depend only on ourselves and on our skill at benefiting from good examples.

Henryk Pucilowski--deputy director of the Economic Section of the CC PZPR--also took the floor, laying out the enormous political and economic tasks that stand before the party organizations. Appeals alone will not be sufficient though, if they will not be corroborated by concrete undertakings. The mechanisms of implementing the economizing program have been worked out; the concern, then, is that it should be respected and properly settled.

The first secretary of the CC PZPR, Bogdan Prus, summed up the meeting. Once more referring to the declaration of the discussants, he stressed the need to implement the economizing and anti-inflation programs. He brought out into relief the constructive role these activities could play, especially in the area of our province, that produces chiefly for the market. The CC first secretary recalled that he is considering not only the number, but the quality of the goods as well, which should go in keeping with lower production costs and sensible management of materials and fuels.

#### Wloclawek Province Aktiv Meeting

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 9-10 Apr 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by: M.A.T.]

[Text] Implementation of the principles of the government anti-inflation and savings plans in the economy of Wloclawek Province was the theme of yesterday's meeting of the sociopolitical aktiv in the province, organized through the initiative of the CC PZPR. As the chairman of the meeting, first secretary of the CC PZPR, Krystian Luczak, stated, a stage of education and stimulation of behavior serving to halt economic destruction was also begun by this same initiative. Further activities will serve to break in concretely the economizing and anti-import programs, worked out in individual enterprises, as well as the current appraisal of the effectiveness of these actions.

The current situation in the economization of raw and other materials and increasing production efficiency was presented by the PZPR Provincial Committee [KW] secretary, Wojciech Stefanski. Many provincial factories, not waiting for recommendations from the top, have already embarked on concrete undertakings, whether serving in the struggle against waste, in the economizing of energy, or also introducing a domestic substitute for the production of a finished product. These are: the Paint and Varnish Works in Wloclawek, the Furniture Factory, DRUMET, the Provincial Board [ZW] SPLOEM, and KZPOW. Initiatives by the engineering-technical cadres in the Wloclawek plants of Azotow, Ursus, the Rypin Ship Factory, Konwektor, and the Construction Works, also served in reducing the use of raw materials. At the same time, however--as the KW secretary, W. Stefanski, said--many enterprises treat this problem marginally, counting on profits to be gained through an increase in the price of the goods. A distinct problem is the lack of a correlation between wage increases and labor productivity. In many instances, wages grew in the past year by 20 and even 30 percent, while productivity shrank.

The following were cited in the discussion as being among the problems in the economization of materials and better production efficiency. Janusz Kaprzak, from Drumet, presented the institutional program of economizing, which plans for a reduction by 800 tons in the use of steel wire rod and a savings of 20 million zloty. The energy savings as well as better implementation of manpower should bring in over 10 million zloty. There is no plan for expansion in employment at Drumet this year but, rather, for a transfer of administration to sections that involve nonstop production. A motivation system, which will render an improvement in labor efficiency possible, is also being worked out.

Similar undertakings were presented by Zbigniew Mosakowski from the Furniture Factory and Stanislaw Jankowski from the Paint Works. They touched upon a fair number of possibilities still remaining openly in economic units, and allowing not only the economizing of domestic materials, but also the elimination of an import. Daniel Wrzesniakowski, from the Kujawa Industrial Construction Enterprise [PBP], appealed for more discriminating, more individually assessed workable possibilities by places of employment as regards to increasing the economy and efficiency in production. In the Kujawa PBP--as he said--appropriate importance has been assigned to this problem for years. "Now we are treated on par with others," said D. Wrzesniakowski, "being allotted 50 percent of the essential quantity of fuels. This is not a stimulus to better work." He also recalled the subjective obstacles in the fulfillment of the economic tasks. In order to secure the essential rubber shoes, 30 construction workers were delegated to this work at Stomilo in Grudziadz. They were short by exactly this same amount in their wage fund.

Stanislaw Bajur, deputy minister for the chemical and light industry, participated in yesterday's meeting. In characterizing the essential goals of the government programs, he brought attention to the need for growth in assorted production, improvement in product quality, reduction in material costs, as well as to economic discipline. Also essential--which other participants in the meeting likewise stressed--is an understanding of the economic strategy

at all levels of management and positions of labor. Referring to the capital expenditure problems of Wloclawek Province, the deputy minister noted that production of the complex polyvinyl chloride will begin by the end of the current year. One of the serious problems now is to get the 600 laborers vital for its workforce. Reserves must be sought in the same Azotow where over 1,200 persons are employed in the administration.

9891

CSO: 2600/770

LUBLIN PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Plenum on Economizing, Anti-Inflationism

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 3 May 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by A. Mank]

[Text] The Provincial Committee of PZPR in Lublin met yesterday at a plenary meeting. The subject of the plenum, in which CC Secretary, Manfred Gorywoda participated, was the functioning of the economy of the province under the economic reform and the goals created by the National Socioeconomic Plan for 1983-1985 as well as by the anti-inflation and economizing programs which are integrated with it.

The meeting was conducted by the first secretary of KW PZPR, Dr Wieslaw Skrzydlo. He emphasized at the beginning that in view of the significance and importance of the discussed problems besides the KW members present were: Secretaries of POP and the directors of the 70 largest factories and economic units of the province, members of the KW Committee on the Economic Development and Social Policy and members of the Workers' Consultative Committee, the city and the provincial committees, KW lecturers, representatives of youth organizations, science-technical and economic associations.

The chairman of WRN [Provincial People's Council], Stanislaw Grzywa, the president of WK of ZSL [Provincial Committee of United Peasant Party], Edward Harasim, the chairman of WK SD [Provincial Committee of Democratic Party], Henryk Lusiewicz, chairman of PRON, also participated in the plenum.

The opening report of the KW Executive Staff was read by Witold Przybylski, secretary of KW PZPR, who drafted in it a broad socioeconomic background to the functioning of the provincial economy, during the 15 months since the economy reform was introduced, with particular consideration given to the conditions which will determine the economic improvement and more productive work connected with the implementation of the anti-inflation and economizing programs. These documents--the speaker remarked--introduce a number of solutions that have not been used so far in the



functioning of our economy and they require the release of grass root initiatives as well as the initiatives on the part of the party organizations and the factory managements.

In the Lublin Province, likewise all over the country, positive trends in the implementation of the economic tasks, initiated in the past year have been consolidated. These were expressed in many ways such as production increases in the first quarter of the current year by almost 15 percent and also by 14 percent increase in the workers' efficiency. Taking into the consideration the decreased deliveries of raw products and materials, it may be concluded, that the process of more rational utilization of them as well as putting into motion the management and workers' disciplinary and organizational reserves has begun. To support this theory the speaker quoted several examples of substituting the previously imported materials by domestic replacements, which resulted in the production increase at lower costs. Among other examples the Eda Electromachinery Plant, situated in Poniatowa, was brought up, where the savings obtained this way amounted to 92,000 dollars this year only.

However, a number of negative phenomena should be noted next to the positive--as it was stated in the report. Among others, there are examples of price manipulations in some enterprises which resulted further in the excessive not justified profits, imperfection of the enterprise motivation systems and the worsening of the quality of many products and services. In 1982 the indicator of products rejected because of their bad quality grew from 0.9 percent to 1.1 percent. The Quality Mark (one) was lost by 44 products in the province. Although the Quality Mark was awarded to 24 new products (12 of those in the food industry) these statistics are significant because they indicate the reduction in quality. The quality was also mentioned regarding certain increases in exports, noted in the industry of the province last year and in the first quarter of 1983.

Characterizing the conditions of general industry and the construction industry in view of the 3-year plan outline, a considerable attention was drawn to the problems of rationalizing employment, preserving proper proportions between the number of administration workers to those working directly in the production process, reserves in slowing down job shifting and the improvement of the workers' discipline.

Presenting the goals for 1983-1985, the speaker underscored that they will not be possible to be reached without looking for all the possibilities of increasing production and its effectiveness in every enterprise.

Next, Lublin Governor Tadeusz Wilk presented to the gathering extensive information on the activities of the state administration. The discussed information covered the implementation of the economizing and anti-inflation programs, particularly in the area of the economy in the locally managed sectors in the construction industry, municipal enterprises, trade and agricultural enterprises. A few hours of heated discussion on the presented problems followed.

One of the main themes of the discussion was the problem of how to increase the production and economize at the same time on the valuable raw materials, how to lower the costs and increase the efficiency while perfecting the workers' motivation system.

During the discussion the attention was drawn to the fact that not everywhere at present are there precise dates of working out or correcting the existing economizing programs of the plants and energetic steps in these areas have been undertaken.

Besides, there were many comments that contained good examples of savings and judging the problems from the frugal point of view, Mieczyslaw Ciebien, Wlodzimierz Kosacki, Mieczyslaw Bordacki, Andrzej Dygus, Teodora Polak, Romuald Polinski, Tadeusz Poleszak, Henryk Tazbierk, Stanislaw Zareba, Tadeusz Szkutnicki, Eugeniusz Morawski, Ryszard Minnicki, Edward Kubic, Stanislaw Markiewicz, Boguslaw Bojarski, Eugeniusz Tkaczyk, Mieczyslaw Augustawski, Jozef Smolarz took floor in discussion. Besides Jadwiga Peittrak, Janusz Wotowicz, Henryk Rysak and Kochan spoke.

Manfred Gorywoda, secretary of CC PZPR, expressed his opinions in view of the discussion and the KW report. Emphasizing the visible positive trends during the last 8 months in the national economy, the speaker stated at the same time that in order to overcome there is still much work to be done. The anti-inflation and economizing programs which are an integral part of the 3-year plan, recently passed by Sejm, should enable the breaking of the supply barrier, problems with full employment, lack of means for investments and the shortage of reserves in the economy. These are the conditions which will accompany us in future years.

The decrease in the use of materials in the economy, better utilization of the domestic raw materials and widening of the cooperation with CEMA countries and the Soviet Union in particular, decreasing oil imports and the lowering of natural gas production create conditions which require a definite level of coal mining.

Also the decrease of the workers working hours in general industry caused a gap that brought about a further decline of production and must be filled by the rationalization of employment and the increased productivity.

The speaker characterized the monetary market situation in the country and the consequences of not slowing down or stopping the progressing inflation. The actions outlined by the government programs are twofold and center on the production increases as one way and the other way toward the slowing down the influx of the money to the market. A third possibility--the price increase will be the final one. Comrade Gorywoda dwelled upon the problems of the housing industry and referring to the discussion he underscored that the increase in the size of the housing industry depends on the lowering of the construction costs.

Talking about the policy of "tight money," the speaker emphasized the necessity to introduce an "economic regime" in the economic programs of

the enterprises the dependence of every zloty designated for an increase in salaries on production increases and lowering costs. Without effectively dealing with those problems by the plant management and workers, understanding of the dependence of overcoming the crisis on effective economizing, the goals of the 3-year plan cannot be realized, the speaker concluded.

Next, Stanislaw Staniszewski presented in the name of the Committee On Bills and Resolutions, consisting of several persons, a draft of a resolution of the plenary meeting of KW accepting as the outlines the thesis contained in the report of the KW Executive Staff enriched by the discussion. The plenum passed the resolution.

Wieslaw Skrzydlo, the first secretary of KW PZPR, concluding the debates, underlined that working out the programs of action should be treated as an important though preliminary stage of work. Their implementation would be the most significant task.

The plenum expressed their gratitude to the working people of Lublin Province for their widespread and spontaneous participation in the 1 May celebrations in Lublin and in the area.

So far as the organizational matters are concerned, comrade Mieczyslaw Kaczmarek was confirmed as the head of the Propaganda Department of KW PZPR in connection with another assignment of the former head of this department, comrade Wieslaw Wrobel.

#### Postplenum Action on Production Increases

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 4 May 83 p 3

[Article by A. Mankowska "Repetition on the ABC of Economizing"]

[Text] Looking at the national economy during the last 8 montsh a certain progress was observed in production increases as well as in labor productivity. In Lublin Province in the first quarter of this year a 15 percent increase in sold industrial production was noted in comparison with the same period last year, and an almost indential 14 percent jump in labor productivity was observed. Although employment remained at the same level, industrial statistical averages were such that, for example, the construction material industry noted production increases of as much as 43.3 percent. Other increases were: clothing industry 27.6 percent, agricultural-food industry 18.3 percent, machinery 17.4 percent.

Of course the comparisons are favorable because the first quarter of last year was a disaster of a kind for many branches of industry. After all the prefabricating plants were waiting for cement, the cement plants were waiting for coal and in the mines of Silesia the daily level of coal mining was restored only after 13 December, 1981.

However, the first quarter of 1983 looks good in comparison with the levels reached in the already-better fourth quarter of 1982. The dynamics of production increases reaches 4.5 percent! So what is going on?

During the last plenum of KW PZPR in Lublin (2 May 1983) the attention was drawn to the fact that the plants were reaching their goals in spite of the significant material difficulties. Therefore, the economic mechanisms of the economic reform, stimulating a more frugal use of raw material and taking into the consideration the costs must have had a major influence here.

Among other examples that were quoted there was Agromet, Agricultural Machinery Plant, where significant savings of steel products were obtained and the savings were achieved by means of updating and constant monitoring of unit and collective standards of consumption as well as the increase of the range of material assortment included in the standards of consumption system. Solely in 1983 those actions brought about savings of 170 tons of steel products, including 90 tons of cast iron. Currently, in Agromet they started an analysis of designs in agricultural machinery in view of a more efficient manufacturing process.

In another huge plant of the province, the Frictionless Bearings Factory in Krasnik, scrap steel was used in further production. Examples were pipe rings which were produced from pipe ends, and other products from rod ends which were rolled before heating. In the main Ball Bearings Department some previously imported products were substituted by domestic materials. In 1982, 671 tons of steel were saved through these techniques, including 62 tons of metal sheet and 50 tons of pipe and reinforcing rod. All those examples prove that industry, including construction industry to a certain extent, is in a state of establishing positive trends.

Economic policy for the future is centered around two government programs supporting further implementation of the economic reform. These are the anti-inflation and economizing programs. During the last plenum of KW in Lublin which was devoted to the functioning of the economy during the reform and to the goals outlined in 1983-1985 Plan the two programs constituted its integral part. It was strongly emphasized that reaching the main socioeconomic goals drafted in the plan is not possible without the introduction of the principles of the "economic regime" into the enterprises. Every zloty designated for salaries has to be covered by increased production and efficiency. Without that we will not manage to stop inflation and get out of the crisis. Thus, if there are positive phenomena in the economy they should be consolidated and at the same time those areas of economy that require putting into motion our reserves and savings should be taken under a "magnifying glass" of social inspection of worker self-governments and party organizations.

For example, comrade Eugeniusz Tkaczyk, secretary of KZ [Factory Committee] of PZPR, Construction Plant in Lublin [Kombinat Budowlany] voiced a formal resolution during the plenary debated concerning prefabricating wood construction products. In his opinion they should be delivered from Suwalki without glass. At the moment half of the window and door glass of the new houses is put in twice or even three times. Glass is being "broken" during the transportation of the window frames and then during the mounting into the prefabricated wall units in the housing factory and then once more



on the construction site--during the final assembly of the buildings. The same speaker gave another example concerning the use of the reinforcing steel in the walls of a larger diameter than needed for the design requirements of the building. This condition occurs because of the shortage of steel of the proper size.

The worker does not expect words but concrete actions, the abovementioned speaker stated. Conclusion? The state of the economy is better than a year ago but a lot remains to be done. The anti-inflation and economizing programs should teach management in all industries, research institutes and also the designers, the ABC's of economizing, taking into consideration every zloty of production cost spent on materials and labor. We shall have only limited amount of raw materials and what we have should be used in a wise and frugal manner.

It was not without reason that a considerable amount of time in the report and in the discussion was devoted to the problem of efficiency and quality of production. It was also brought out that the number of products with a "Q" mark and a safety mark (so called according to the specifications) decreased in the value of the sold production from 22.8 percent in 1981 to 17.1 percent in 1982. Of the products displaying the "Q" mark (sign of a one in a triangle) 41 lost the right to display this symbol. This number contributed about half of those products which gained the right to display such a symbol on the product at the beginning of the year.

Experience teaches us the ABC's of economizing. For example in PKS [Polish Bus Lines], the rebuilding of spare parts constituted almost a third of new spare-parts purchases, 6,600 tires were retreaded. At the same time the attention was drawn to the fact that since April 1982 production of 10-ton trailer buses decreased or the producer gave it up altogether, which has an impact on the optimal capacity of our public bus transportation enterprises. And the bus transportation enterprises do not complain about the reduced fuel rations in their effort to economize.

The second largest area within the framework of the government programs is the rationalization of employment. In the next three years we should not expect any significant increase in the working force and thus we should go to the reserve of shift work and the improvement of the discipline and stopping job shifting. For example, the shift work indicator in this province in 1982 was at 1.35 level and was lower than the corresponding indicator from 1979 by 0.30 points.

Another example: last year in the province's industry about 7,500 employees were absent from work every day because of sick leave, annual leave and unjustified reasons. Every fifth employee--as it was calculated--changed the place of work in industry and in some construction operations this occurred in relations to every second employee.

In all the enterprises discussions take place on the outline of plants' economizing and anti-inflation programs. The main concern is to be realistic in achieving the goals for efficient production and not to be in a job slot without motivation. During the plenum it was underscored that the plant programs anti-inflation and economizing can be correlated with the requirements of the regime's economic motivation system. To survive the economizing has to pay off. One should add that besides acting by means of economic tools, educating the workers in the area of the ABC's of economizing is also indispensable. The simple truth is that the richer nations are more frugal than we are and the fact that we cannot afford to be spendthrift has to be realized by everybody.

12246

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PROVINCIAL AKTIV ACTIVITIES NOTED

Chelm Province Aktiv Meeting

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 12 Apr 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by: (gaj)]

[Text] A provincial workers' aktiv meeting was held yesterday at the Cement Works in Chelm. Participants included 200 workers, party members, nonparty members, union and self-management activists, foreman, and social workers from Chelm Province enterprises. The deputy minister of forestry and timber industry participated alongside the provincial authorities represented by the PZPR KW first secretary, Jerzy Szukala, and Chelm provincial governor, Alojzy Zielinski.

Two speeches by PZPR KW Secretary Grzegorz Szyszkowski, and Chelm Deputy Governor Jan Laszcz, formed the basis of the discussion. They presented the socioeconomic situation, the conditions surrounding it, and the fulfillment of basic objectives which are dependent upon the entire population.

Last year an economic decline in Chelm province was halted. Industry achieved a 12 percent production growth rate, and good results were also achieved in the export, road-building, and public service sectors. The construction industry, however, did not fare as well last year.

This year, however, tangible economic improvements were noted during the first three months. In March, industry production was up 11 percent over March 1982, and work productivity rose almost 10 percent. The proportions between work productivity and wages also appeared to be favorable. Fairly good results were also achieved by the construction industry. These are accomplishments which demonstrate the genuine concern with which many workers approach their tasks, and also the rising correlation between work productivity and rising average wages.

However, one must not forget about the negative phenomena which are also taking place, such as a shortage of materials, poor work organization, lack of discipline, waste, inefficient management, and lower quality production. Therefore, it is essential to counteract these phenomena, and one way of

resolving the situation is to establish a resources conservation and anti-inflation program. The majority of enterprises and factories in Chelm Province are aware of this, since such programs were worked out and implemented last year through the Provincial Defense Committee. It is, however, necessary to enrich and improve continually, this was the opinion of the participants. Some of them pointed to the reserves existing in their factories. For example, Andrzej Chmielewski of the Sanitary Equipment Factory in Krasnystaw, and Jerzy Rozanski of the Chelm Electrical Works both mentioned this. Then Tadeusz Winiarczyk of the Pokoj Cement Works in Rejowiec noted that he saw the possibility for progress if the workers themselves were to make repairs on the production equipment, thereby eliminating the need for the expensive services of the Wierzbica Repair Facilities. He also noted that medical care was lacking at the Pokoj Cement Works, and also indicated that factory housing was being allocated to those not employed at the factory. These matters have upset residents of the Rejowiec industrial region.

The deputy director for technical matters at the Chelm Cement Works, Krzysztof Skrzydlo, discussed ways in which both the management and the workers could increase savings on raw materials, and other materials, and at the same time increase labor productivity.

The deputy minister, Jozef Kardys spoke out at the conclusion of the meeting, and considering the results in Chelm Province, he determined that the anti-inflationary and resources conservation program can be universally achieved if stringent work discipline principles, proper organization of production, and truly economic management is pursued.

#### Aktiv Meeting at URSUS Plant

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 12 Apr 83 pp 1, 2

[Text] On 12 April, a meeting of the economic and political aktiv of the manufacturers of agricultural machinery, household appliances, machinery and equipment for the food industry, and metal goods supplied to the marketplace was held at the Warsaw Ursus Machine Works. It was devoted to discussions on the anti-inflationary and resources conservation program.

The conference participants were presented with information on the 1983-1985 production plan for those enterprises subordinate to the Ministry of Metallurgy and Engineering Industry. The metallurgical and machine industries provide approximately 20 percent of the nonfood goods for the domestic market. The production of agricultural machinery during the first two months of 1983 rose 50.3 percent over last year. This signifies that positive trends have been maintained in the development of industrial production begun in the second half of last year. This year the ministry should increase electromachinery exports by 15 percent in comparison with the same period last year, and should deliver goods valued at 320 billion zlotys for the domestic market.

It was stressed that those branches represented at the meeting must concentrate primarily on meeting the needs of the food and marketplace economies. The



planned 1985 deliveries of agricultural machinery should meet approximately 90 percent of the agricultural needs, and should fully cover the needs of the private farming sector, insofar as agricultural machinery, household tools and metal goods are concerned. It is estimated that housing construction needs will also be fully met.

The fulfillment of these tasks in all the factories is contingent upon the efficient management of raw materials, other materials, energy, and workers. It was stressed that economic management should become the dominant practice on every production level.

Attention was also drawn to the fact that even though economical production methods are employed, the quality of goods must be maintained.

#### Aktiv Approach in Metallurgy at Czestochowa

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 13 Apr 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (hen)]

[Text] The question of what is to be done, and how it is to be done, so that the government's anti-inflationary and economizing program will in practice be fully accomplished, constituted the topic of discussion at yesterday's branch meeting of the political-economic aktiv of ferrous metallurgy, refractory materials, and industrial construction firms, ore mines, as well as the entire nation's metal scrap processing, and was held at the Bierut Iron and Steelworks in Czestochowa. The participants, including directors, PZPR KZ secretaries, factory union and workers' self-management representatives, as well as ZSMP representatives shared the experiences and problems with which they struggle every day. They also discussed the accomplishments in the area of production and intelligent management of materials and raw materials. They presented plans and projects, and also pointed out the problems which hinder increased production.

Due to the scale of production and its significance insofar as the entire economy is concerned, the metallurgical and machine industry plants play a highly significant role. The enterprises subordinate to this ministry manufacture approximately 27 percent of the nation's entire industrial output, They fulfill over 45 percent of the export production, and supply the domestic market with one-fifth of the overall nonfood goods. Positive tendencies begun in this ministry in the beginning of the second half of 1982 are being maintained. This is supported by first quarter results, whereby production of basic metallurgical and certain other goods produced by the metals and electrotechnical industry has surpassed the plan. A significant growth was noted in work productivity, and many factories improved their management efficiency.

Edward Lukosz, the minister of metallurgy and engineering industry who conducted the meeting, concluded that the most important task facing the workers and factories subordinate to the ministry was production efficiency increases in production designated directly or indirectly for the domestic, as well as

the export market, and for fulfilling the needs of agriculture, construction, communications, and transportation. He also pointed out the need to try and decrease manufacturing costs permanently, and establish closer link-ups between salaries and increased work productivity.

At the same time, matters which dominated both the minister's and the participants speeches concerned economical and intelligent management of initial production. The need for better utilization of production potential and future investment consideration of technological and coproduction ties among individual factories, especially in the ferrous metallurgy sector was also stressed. The fact that metallurgy and its cooperative industries could economize on energy, fuel, steel, and fireproofing materials was not concealed. A decrease of only 1 percent in production costs in the metallurgy and engineering industry firms would result in savings of 14 billion zlotys. Many of the industries belonging to the metallurgy ministry lowered their expenditures, chiefly through decreased consumption of initial products, some even by as much as 4 percent. Engineering industry factories are hoping to save 140,000 tons of steel this year.

It was stressed that the amount of material and energy consumption was mainly determined by design and production engineers. They in fact should currently bring about the improvement in and development of new production solutions and methods.

The undertaking and development of anti-import production was emphasized as being a singularly important problem. In this respect, the ministry can boast of many significant achievements. Only last year, thanks to new ministry factory start-ups, the country saved 110,000,000 dollars. This year, because of continuing anti-import activities, we plan to save approximately 100,000,000 dollars.

Everyone has a major or minor role to play in the fulfillment of the economization program, especially with respect to permanently decreasing production costs, be it the director, engineer, production engineer, design engineer, foreman, or worker. The final results are dependent upon participation by everyone in every factory and enterprise, as well as on production growth, supplying the marketplace, and the duration of the current crisis.

Party-economic aktiv meetings in Elblag, Chelm, Sieradz, Ursus, Ciechanow, Suwalki, Koszalin, Kielce, and Szczecin were devoted to the definition of tasks which would halt inflation, economize, and lower production costs.

#### Economic Aktiv Meeting at Kielce

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 13 Apr 83 pp 1, 7

[Article by: R. Biskup, and A. Prawiecka]

[Text] A provincial socioeconomic aktiv meeting took place yesterday in Kielce, under the leadership of PZPR KW first secretary Maciej Lubczynski. The conference was dedicated to an evaluation and analysis of the phenomena dominating

the Kielce economy, as well as to the development of an appropriate course of action to bring about the effective accomplishment of those tasks resulting from the implementation of the resources economization program, the decrease in production costs, and the slowing down of inflation.

The governor, Wlodzimierz Pasternak, WKN chairman Ryszard Zbrog, ZSL WK chairman Czeslaw Kozak, SK WK Secretary Zbigniew Porebski, factory union activists, directors, and workers from the industrial enterprises of the province participated in the Kielce meeting, along with the government's economic reform plenipotentiary, Minister Wladslaw Baka.

The KW Executive Board report, concerning the most important tasks involved in counteracting inflationary tendencies, the establishment of the economization programs, and the decrease in production expenditures, was presented by KW economic secretary, Zkislaw Kowalski, while Governor Wlodzimierz Pasternak dealt with the current economic situation in the province, and with the tasks ensuing from the fulfillment of the 3-year plan.

Kielce Province industry successfully fulfilled the first quarter plan, by achieving a production growth rate of 118 percent in comparison with the same period last year. Those factories which possess adequate material and coproduction supplies have begun work on free Saturdays. An important issue undertaken by provincial industry is concerned with limiting to the minimum the hard currency expenditures for raw and other material imports, as well as initiating anti-import production. The Predom-Mesko Metal Works in Skarzysko-Kamienna, the Prema Tire factory in Kielce, the M. Nowotki Steelworks in Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski, the truck factory in Starachowice, the Polmo Motorized Vehicle factory in Konskie, the Chemar chemical equipment and industrial equipment factory, and the Kielce Pump factory represented the most significant accomplishments.

Kielce Province industrial production is characterized, however, by enormous consumption of electricity, gas, coal, coke, and heating oil. The energy consumption for every 1,000 zlotys of production was above the national average. Therefore, the engineering and technical personal are faced with developing technological solutions for limiting energy, fuel, material, and raw material consumption.

The prognosis for the fulfillment of this year's production plans appears to be favorable. A fairly good production tempo is being maintained in some of the largest industrial enterprises such as: the M. Nowotki Steelworks, Polmo-SHL Truck Factory, and the Nowiny Cement-Lime Factory. Good consumer goods production has been achieved at the Kielce Furniture Factory, and the Fosko Footwear Firm. Light industry has fulfilled 26 percent of its annual plan in the first three months. The construction industry is doing well. During the first quarter, capital investors accepted 970 housing units, or twice as many as last year. The construction of projects such as daycare centers, and nursery schools is being done ahead of schedule. The annual plan for this type of construction is 40 percent ahead of schedule.

A high rate of construction is being noted at many building sites, and productivity in some firms rose 32 percent. Last year the procurement of livestock, fruit, and vegetables surpassed the plan, in addition no problems were noted in potato procurement.

During the first quarter, 36 enterprises submitted proposals on increased contract and regulated prices on manufactured goods and services. This is disturbing because in spite of the fact that they are still making a profit, the factories are attempting to raise prices.

Local mineral wealth should be made available for the manufacture of goods which are indispensable for agricultural, construction, and ceramics needs. In order to better utilize the manufacturing industry potential of Kielce Province, it is necessary to intensify joint coproduction, as well as give unuseable machinery to those factories which can utilize it suitably.

A majority of the factories have established commissions and workers' groups to draw up regulations on the economization program. The reason being so that the regulations will be made available to every worker at every work level. Economization becomes an obligation and a command at a moment's notice.

Between meetings, the participants met with provincial authorities and with Minister Baka, who answered individual questions. The most crucial issues concerned:

[Question] So-called general contractors exist in the construction industry. As a result of difficulties with the completion of work by subcontractors, they refuse to undertake investment contracts. Who is to fulfill these contracts?

[Answer] The easiest way would be to make fulfillment compulsory. Everything points to the fact that such a temporary solution will be acceptable for two years, before other reform measures can take effect. On the other hand, goal-oriented reorganization will be carried out in order to breakup the giant construction firms into smaller and more versatile enterprises. However, local economic authorities are quite weak, and do not have the abilities to carry out the organizational changes. Therefore, a subgroup, which deals with construction matters, has been created out of the economic reform group. One must realize that the enterprises will have to commit themselves, since the total amount of resources allocated for investment will be less than the construction industry potential. Otherwise allotment and not capital would be the deciding factor insofar as investments are concerned. Allotment signals the ruin of the reform principles. I would like to add a comment, and that is that we establish construction firms on a permanent basis, in the interim for example we can organize some which would build hospitals, and we would then work the details out at a later date.

[Question] The establishment of an enterprise development fund does not force the enterprises to set aside funds for it. What will happen when the firm depletes the funds?

[Answer] It appears that one can apply the precept: that which is not forbidden by law can be done. Yet we have adopted a solution on the basis of trust, that is the enterprises will endeavor to carry out development rather than stagnate. In any case, who is to be tasked with distributing the profit for the development fund and other uses, is it the minister? Where are the elements of self-management and independence? The fact is that anyone who disrupts the vital economic interest of the nation must suffer the consequences. It's true that there are cases where the entire enterprise fund was squandered, but these are rare.

[Question] Fluctuation, workers are collectively leaving the key industries. Presuming that enterprises are not independent, what would you suggest be done to halt the exodus of workers?

[Answer] We should at once agree that workers going to the Polonian skilled trades firms constitute a small matter. More important, however, is the tendency toward professional deactivation. Anyone who can, tries to qualify for a group three disability category, and a pension, while women eagerly volunteer for foster care duty. This process of fluctuation can be partially halted. A system of wages would be established in the factories, whereby dispensable workers would be eliminated, and bonuses would be given to essential personnel. Thus, there would be more incentive to work than to retire, and workers would remain on the job. The second point is that workers must be able to purchase something with the money they earn. It is symptomatic that they are unwilling to work on free Saturdays and earn money. This is why it is necessary to organize workers' cooperatives which would carry out orders for parent companies. One could then belong to them provided one worked efficiently.

[Question] Is it known to you that certain associations are being transformed into federations?

[Answer] Yes, it is an unsettling phenomenon, which we must counteract immediately. A shortage of materials, and raw materials favors the establishment of organs which make decisions concerning state control. And then, people do not change very easily, one falls into a rut, bad habits and bureaucracy appear. The functions of the association are unmistakably limited, yet there isn't a plenipotentiary or a central organ which will settle the issue. The self-managing enterprises must do this themselves. Consequently, workers' self-management groups must be established within the association.

Following the meeting in the UW [Provincial Office], Minister Wladyslaw Baka together with KW first secretary, Maciej Lubscynski, and governor Wlodzimierz Pasternak toured the Kielce Pump Factory in Bialogon. They met with the factory management personnel, and also visited certain departments expressing an interest in the workers problems, and in the production development program.

Bielsko-Biala Province Aktiv Meeting

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 12 Apr 83 pp 1, 2



[Text] Many participants arrived at the national workers' aktiv conference with concrete solutions. These then served as inspiration for others, who admittedly while noticing the irregularities and the need for resources conservation and carrying out a rational production process in their own factories, had not yet worked out the methods and forms of implementation.

Immediately following the Sejm debate which had presented a government anti-inflation and resources conservation program, the Batory Steelworks Ideological-Education Center held a meeting to discuss this very subject. Workers from all the area factories participated. Today they speak with pride of their meeting, although it was not as large-scale as the Warsaw one it did precede it.

Following the national workers' aktiv meeting which included three Batory Steelworks representatives, the PZPR KZ Executive Board accepted a course of action. It encompasses the wide dissemination of the resources conservation and anti-inflation program, and is of particular interest to the workers. Each department within the steelworks has its own resources conservation program calculated by the management. Currently an open party meeting is continuing, at which factory lecturers are explaining the central issues, and the department chiefs will present their own programs based on the explanations, and the workers will then discuss the methods for implementation. Worker-engineer departmental groups were also appointed and were tasked with developing increased labor efficiency, and material and energy consumption conservation programs.

Because of a shortage of workers, personnel departments were obligated to work out incentive plans for retirees who were willing to return to work. They emphasized that the jobs involved production positions exclusively, and were jobs upon which the steelworks depend most. Another approach considered to obtain workers for understaffed positions included the possibility of allocating housing funds, as well as housing which would be built by the factory construction department.

The program for locating reserves and savings is also being widely disseminated through the factory radiocenter and press, and is not being treated as a superficial matter at the steelworks. All activities, including exertion of pressure to account for already undertaken tasks, will constitute permanent factory practice.

In the Katowice Furniture Firm, the economization program and the battle with waste is not dealt with only in connection with the Warsaw workers' meeting, but is considered to be an integral part of the planning and production stages. Unused waste does not exist. Waste materials, if there are any, are utilized under the light industry nonplan production, and items such as bookcases, cupboards, and stools are manufactured. So-called daily consultation with clients facilitates the matter somewhat, since the factory sells its own products.

Labor efficiency constitutes a separate problem. A good work incentive system is currently being used at the Katowice Furniture Firm. Individual factory

groups assess worker performance, and then use the evaluations to give out bonuses.

Many factories and branches are currently carrying out meetings and conferences on the formulation and perfection of anti-inflationary and resources conservation programs.

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## PROVINCIAL BLUE-COLLAR WORKERS' ACTIVITIES NOTED

## Blue-Collar Workers on Economizing

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 3 May 83 p 1

[Article by Ryszard Zabinski: "Workers Opinions; To Economize But Wisely"]

[Text] Jan Haniszewski, an assembly man at the Hydral State Aviation Works [PZL] Combine in Wroclaw did not like it when some speakers at the National Conference of Workers-Activists in Warsaw did not see any irregularities in their workplaces, although they saw them perfectly well in other workplaces. We think what should be improved at Hydral, how this workplace can be engaged in the implementation of economizing and anti-inflation program. It is difficult, however, to find any significant reserves here. Hydral's products should bear a mark of very high quality and reliability.

Consequently, the discipline in this workplace is much better than other places, work is being done more accurately, since a very strict control would not let through a faulty product anyway.

But Tadeusz Kwasniewski, also a participant of the conference, secretary of the party's Workplace Committee, does not agree with the opinion that there is nothing to economize or improve in the workplace. It has been decided at Hydral to carefully analyze its employment structure. The center of information and organization is in charge of this. At the first glance this structure is very bad--only a third of the workforce are workers that are employed directly in production.

"One must be aware of the fact that the special character of our workplace requires highly expanded auxiliary services," says T. Kwasniewski. For instance, in the main constructor's department several hundred people are employed, and although they do their work utilizing machines we do not include them in the basic group of workers, who are considered as directly production workers. It is a similar case as far as tool workers are concerned, as well as some other professional groups. The problem, therefore, does not consist in an automatic reduction of the number of employees of the auxiliary services, and the back-up services in general, although there are many who think that this can be done with no harm to anybody. Yes indeed, for 2-3 months nobody would feel this, but negative consequences would surface after

some 6-7 months. In my view work discipline of the back-up services should improve. Our products pass through very many stages. Various builders and technology engineers work with them at the stages of design and execution. Sometimes activities of these people result in repeating the same work, and this is negatively reflected in the production itself. As far as the workplace's administration is concerned I have a feeling that quite often it performs an unnecessary work. For instance, the reports that it prepares make sense if somebody reads them, analyzes them, etc. But quite often even this is not done.

J. Haniszewski and T. Kwasniewski went to Warsaw with some more general proposals as well, proposals that condemn not only Hydral. They think it is unjust that the reform's guidelines favor weaker enterprises which have unused reserves. For instance, in Hydral labor productivity is pretty high, and it has remained on the same level for some time now. It takes an enormous effort on the part of the workforce to raise it even by a couple percent. On the other hand, enterprises with low labor productivity up to now have much greater possibilities of attaining an even several percent increase. Naturally, they will be highly rewarded for this. The same is true of lowering of the production costs, of the use of fuel, energy, etc.

My interlocutors did not like either the anti-inflationary program's statement about freezing the conventional prices of the supply and investment articles scheduled for 1983. After all it is a well-known fact that prices of these articles have climbed during the beginning months of this year, and the same will probably occur in the same period of 1984. Why do they write then about a freeze?

The program of economizing measures, among others, states the need of installing water meters in private flats, and this is to be done as early as 1984. After all it is an enormous undertaking; have its costs been counted? Besides, water meters will not record small leaks of water in the water system anyway. It would be a better idea to hire in each building cooperative one person who would be exclusively in charge of maintenance and minor repairs of leaking faucets, taps, etc. T. Kwasniewski remembers a time when there was such a worker at Hydral, and never had any water been wasted in those times.

There was much discussion during the Warsaw conference about the need of an even distribution of the consequences of the crisis. J. Haniszewski holds a quite controversial view that high incomes should be taxed proportionately to the income of each member of a family. At the same time one should be careful not to discourage good craftsmen, single people or those with one child only to work harder, to work overtime, etc. T. Kwasniewski remembers that at the end of last year people at Hydral used to shun a possibility of a higher income only because they were afraid of the equalization tax.

It is also a rather controversial proposal to tax, for instance, cars with a larger than 1500 cubic centimeters capacity. T. Kwasniewski thinks that such a tax should be levied on a second and possibly subsequent cars owned by a single family. Since, if somebody owns, for instance, a Mercedes, he can sell it, but two smaller cars and he will not pay a single grosz in taxes.

## Utilization of Work-Time

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 4 May 83 pp 1, 2

[Article: "Increased Sickness Absenteeism and Unjustified Absence; How Do We Utilize Work-Time"]

[Text] The length of time that a worker can spend working is shorter by over 150 hours on an average now in comparison with 1979. This is how much the nominal work-time shrunk during this period, being a result of an increased number of free Saturdays, shortening of the weekly work-time because of special conditions, etc. At the same time there are on an average 215 idle hours per one worker, when for various reasons he did not work.

The number of idle hours has somewhat decreased in comparison with 1981, but it is still too high given the possibilities, but first of all needs, of the economy which struggles hard to pull itself out of its crisis. Thus, not only have we less time at our disposal but we also utilize this time less effectively than several years ago.

Naturally, it is not easy to call for a full utilization of the work-time in the conditions of continued instability of enterprises' work, when the deliveries of supplies and spare parts do not come on time, the cooperative ties are becoming loose. In spite of these obstacles of a general nature more and more enterprises attain better supply situation than the last year's. Preventing waste of work-time is becoming by the same token one of the principal avenues of the improvement of the effects of [enterprise's] management. To this end we have to analyze the sources of those losses.

The main item of the idle time is an absence that is caused by sickness (65.1 percent). Counting per one employee of the material production it was 128.8 hours, that is 0.2 hour more than in the preceding year. Absence caused by sickness is a very complex problem, it has been supported by the debate that has recently taken place all over the country.

It is well-known that this phenomenon is being influenced as much by purely health factors as by psychological and economic ones, and all this requires versatile means of counteraction. Absence caused by sickness is after all on a decrease since last fall, while during the first months of this year it was considerably lower than a year ago.

Second item in the structure of idle time is a justified absence caused by reasons other than sickness or maternity leaves. Here the increase was considerably higher--by 1.8 hours. Because of this we have lost last year on an average 27.4 hours per one employee. The primary reasons for taking time off were voluntary work, training, farmers-workers who left to work at their farms, attending personal and family matters. In the first months of this year the share of justified absences in the lost work-time has somewhat diminished but it is still high. It even exceeds, what is striking at the time of record birth rates, the number of absences caused by maternity leaves.



## Proposal to Tax Workers' Laziness

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 5 May 83 p 3

[Article by Piotr Cegielski: "To Tax Laziness"]

[Text] Those who work hardest to pull the country out of its crisis are also to bear the highest costs of this crisis, are they the people who must make the highest renunciations? This question, which was asked at the latest debates of the Sejm's Socioeconomic Council, is probably the quintessence of the civic discussion that currently focuses on the draft 3-year plan as well as anti-inflation and economy programs.

In this common thinking about combating the crisis there are some indisputable items: the basic aims and premises of the socioeconomic policy that are accepted in the drafts of the aforementioned documents are generally subscribed to. Because they include all the significant items of the list of the most urgent needs; they postulate as the first priority problems of food, increase in the volume of housing construction, as well as protecting groups of population with the lowest standard of living against the consequences of crisis. Further on the list are: problems of health protection, expanding education, improving the stores' supplies, and attaining a market equilibrium with a simultaneous control of inflation. That positive opinion about the hierarchy of aims that were presented in the plan has been also confirmed by the Socioeconomic Council.

As far as the aims and objectives for the coming 3 years are concerned we are, therefore, almost in agreement. They are modest but in touch with the realities of our crisis. Beyond any discussion is also the idea how to implement those objectives, which is based on utilization of economic tools, motivational mechanisms that are consistent with the premises of the economic reform. Their use is indispensable in a situation in which, practically speaking, supplies of raw materials and other materials, as well as labor resources are so limited that the only factor of increasing the national income must be an increase in labor productivity and economy of means of production.

On the other hand, economic system that is based on motivational system will produce results only when the anti-inflationary program succeeds. Thus circle of reasoning closes, the reflection of which is a set of documents that has been presented by the government.

We have therefore seemingly done away once and for all with plans that are built from thousands of figures and indexes that are balanced on the desks of the clerks of the Planning Commission, but which are divorced from the realities of our economy, from the role that man plays in it.

The council's members agree: it is a good thing that it is the man himself, every employee, each member of the society who is the addressee of plan and

of the programs that are tied with it. It is a good thing that when we speak about the economy we begin to remember about the basic laws of psychology and sociology (although the specialists in these fields are still waiting for a chance to play their rightful role in the Polish economy). They also [agree] that in the final count it would not be the balances of intrabranh flows but the effects of the specific work posts that would decide about the success of the plans of pulling [us] out of the crisis. Naturally, what has been explicitly stressed, provided the "center" creates the appropriate institutional and motivational conditions.

And from those very sociological and psychological deliberations of the Council--that were skillfully spurred by its chairman, Prof J. Szczepanski--two fundamental doubts concerning the detailed solutions that were proposed by the government were born. The first one has to do with the problem of work motivation, the second one--indirectly related to the former one--concerns the extent of sheltering from the crisis the so-called poorest groups.

"Why do the plan's authors want to tax the best farmers, the most efficient workers, but they do not propose taxes on fallow lands, improperly cultivated lands, idleness, wasted materials, poor management?" asked Eugeniusz Gruda, a building foreman from Warsaw.

"Why it does not pay the enterprise and their workforces to lower the prices of their products?" asked the representative of the Cegielski Works workforce, Andrzej Dabrowski, addressing the delegates of Planning Commission. "Is this the way the policy of 'tight money' works?"

"The proposed equalizing and land taxes would become a guillotine for the entrepreneurial spirit and commitment of the farmers, for the efficient specialized farms," said farmer Jan Faber.

"How to reconcile the plan of utilization of waste, secondary and local raw materials with the plan of severe taxation of the sphere of nonsocialized production?" those are just a few voices typical of the comments voiced at the Sejm's Column Hall.

The problem of equalizing tax and the amount of its base became the foremost topic of the discussion on motivational system. Eventually, the council sent to the Sejm's presidium a proposal to tax salaries that exceed threefold (instead of one and a half) the amount of an average salary. However, what is at stake is not just this concrete matter, that is, taxes working as anti-incentives for a work of an above-average quality, or a tax on luxury ("...a tax should be levied not on somebody who has been saving for 10 years for a color TV set or hunting gun, but on somebody who spent the same money for drinks"). Such doubts indicate the fact that the whole area of wages, taxes, economy's financial relationships still requires a thorough working out. At the moment, the council notes a danger of levelling out many of the motivational mechanisms.

"The socialist state must protect its citizens, it has to guarantee them basic conditions of a decent living," defended the proposed solutions deputy chairman of the Planning Commission, Jerzy Gwiazdzinski. Hence the need for the redistribution of incomes, expansion of the areas covered by taxes and other burdens.

However, the problems lies in the question whom should the state defend and to what extent. These matters are beyond any discussion. Janusz Rogatko, the Council's vice chairman, asked, for instance, how many young couples will be able to afford collecting money for a down payment of 187,000 zlotys for a rental apartment measuring 50 square meters? This will be the amount if Sejm agrees to raise the amount of the first installment to 15 percent of the apartment's value.

The Council decided against this idea, because the principle of social justice demands that all the citizens have a guaranteed chance of an even start. At the same time, however, it should not be an excuse for the defenders of bums, idlers and work evaders. In the name of this very justice they should bear the heaviest cost of crisis, because, among others, they were the ones who contributed to its deepening, they are the ones who by taking money for doing nothing slow down the pace of climbing out of the pit. They should be those who are affected by financial reprisals, along with those who senselessly waste the soil, raw materials and other materials, thoughtlessly destroy their work tools, produce goods of poor quality.

"The aim which we are following must be accepted by society and at the same time the citizen must see in it benefits for himself, this is human nature," stated a lawyer from Gdansk, Zdzislaw Kminikowski. "Social indifference would be the principal enemy of the plan and of both programs. If we fail to assure proper proportions between activity and the reward for it, if we fail to attain a junction between them then in 2 years and 8 months society will again make the authorities alone accountable [for this situation], instead of itself. Obviously we are experiencing an acute crisis, but we should not tilt reasonable proportions: it is not the active and enterprising ones who should bear the highest costs."

Otherwise the ways and means embodied in the programs of economic recovery, which are based on and increase in labor productivity and economy of raw materials and other materials, as well as on lowering the costs, will fail. And this would signify a failure in the implementation of the objectives of the 3-year plan.

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PROVINCIAL PRON ACTIVITIES NOTED

Rzeszow PRON Conference Directives

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 26-27 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by: J.G.]

[Text] In the report presented by PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] Provisional City Council [TRM] chairman Zdzislaw Niedzielski, as well as in the discussion which developed at yesterday's PRON city conference in Rzeszow, much attention was devoted to PRON's ideological premises, the direction of its activity, and its role within our nation's social structure. The discussion also concerned specific and troublesome matters, city, residential and business problems. A broader public point of view concerning the national situation and citizen concern over the situation converged with proposals and initiatives aimed at small-scale improvement of the situation. This also had a decisive effect on the atmosphere of frankness and commitment which characterized the conference.

Problems concerning the struggle against speculation, proposals brought up by the health care sector, and the educational sector, housing administration, and municipal authorities, as well as concern over youth education, teaching of ethical and patriotic principles, public respect for the law, and assistance for the elderly and handicapped were all topics of discussion at the conference.

Many proposals were voiced concerning amendments to the PRON declaration and statute project, as well as proposals aiming at broadening the direction and method of OKON and Provisional City Council activities.

Sejm deputy and PRON Provisional National Council chairman, Prof Jerzy Ozdowski also took part in the conference. Present were PRON Provisional Provincial Council chairman Dr Zenon Czerniakowski, municipal party organization representatives, and political party signatories of the PRON declaration of 20 July 1982, as well as representatives of the municipal administrative organs.

In his speech, Jerzy Ozdowski praised PRON achievements in Rzeszow City and Province, as well as the conference's progress, all the while stressing its heated atmosphere and its authenticity. He stated that basic activity must be directed at renewal and reconciliation. Renewal cannot be composed of empty words, it must encompass all aspects of the nation's life and be based upon the best historical traditions. It must also satisfy future aspirations, ambitions, and dreams of contemporary Poles. Reconciliation does not mean that differences will be erased. It concerns agreement and joint cooperation by people of diverse views, all the while retaining their identity in their aspirations for one goal--that of national rebirth. He emphasized that PRON is a movement not an organization, characterized by its pluralistic character of serving both the public and the authorities. The movement's ability to reach the youth is very important, as well as its proper respect for their distinct character and interests.

The conference adopted a resolution which, among other things, approved past PRON Provisional City Council activity. It proposes, however, the expansion of council activity through, among other things, debate sessions by PRON activists with the youth, joint cooperation with educational institutions, youth and cultural organizations, and factories, in order to develop a perception of patriotic and civic awareness among the youth. The resolution also addresses support and assistance by PRON cells for the youth housing construction movement, and inclusion of PRON activists in popularization and proper implementation of the economic reforms. It also obligates them to censure and condemn in their organizations any indications of social pathological behavior such as felonies, speculation, violation of the law, and abuse of position and function for personal profit. In addition, past PRON City Council achievements were praised, and the term provisional was removed thereby granting it PRON City Council status.

Conference participants adopted the resolution condemning the revisionist aspirations of revanchist circles in the Federal Republic of Germany, as well as the cold war policy of U.S. President Reagan.

During the conference five delegates were designated as representatives to the PRON congress, and 28 others as delegates to the PRON provincial conference. M. Borejko, E. Bozymowski, Z. Dudek, Z. Niedzielski, and J.S. Slaminska were designated as congress delegates.

#### Sopot Precongress PRON Activities

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 26-27 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by: (zn, mg)]

[Text] During the course of the continuing precongress PRON campaign, on Friday there was a session of the PRON Provisional City Council in Sopot. Participating was PRON Provisional Provincial Council Chairman Walenty Milenuszkin.

PRON declaration plans and statute principles were discussed and adopted. PRON City Council and Presidium elections took place. In addition four



delegates were chosen as representatives to the PRON provincial congress, while two others were selected to serve as representatives at the PRON National Congress.

The PRON City Council program of activity for 1983 was adopted. It establishes for the collection and presentation of opinions concerning matters of vital interest to the city and its residents. Meetings initiated by the PRON City Council will be organized with Sejm deputies, MRN [People's City Council] aldermen, and administrative organ representatives. Due to PRON City Council initiative a report will be written concerning the situation in Sopot. A detailed register of the city's monuments and a plan for their revaluation will also be prepared.

A more solicitous care of the elderly, sick, and handicapped will be planned. Efforts will also be made to establish a senior citizens home in Sopot, as well as insuring better health care for city residents. Among other things, attempts will also be made to solve the problems concerning housing of the rheumatological hospital. Plans also exist in the program for the establishment of a work center for handicapped youth.

In recent days PRON conferences also took place in Starogard, Nowy Dwor Gdanski, and Wladyslawow.

At these sessions, PRON activists discussed the statute proposal, and the movement declaration, elected officials and delegates to the PRON National Congress, and also discussed the pervasive problems of their respective areas.

Among the most frequently touched upon subjects we can mention: questions concerning the struggle with various social pathological symptoms, indications of waste and inefficient management, mobilization of the public to carry out activities for solving the crisis, and equitable distribution of manufactured material goods. During the course of the campaign, experiences were shared concerning past activities of individual PRON cells, also mentioned was the need for the establishment of additional PRON units in factories and institutions, as well as the necessity for guaranteeing the youth greater participation than they currently possess concerning the movement's activities.

#### Tarnow PRON Plenum

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 28 Mar 83 p 1

[Article by: (was)]

[Text] Last Saturday a PRON Provisional Provincial Council working session took place in Tarnow, during which time the programs-elections campaign in the Tarnow region PRON cells was summarized, and materials for the provincial congress were adopted. The Provisional Provincial Council Presidium member Stanislaw Wrobel presented an evaluation of the campaign, maintaining that it had proceeded efficiently and had contributed to revitalized activity

on the part of the basic cells. Past meetings, he added had provided much material which will be utilized to accurately define the declaration and statute regulations. At that time appropriate comments will be made by National Congress delegates.

Matters concerning the upcoming 9 April provincial congress were also discussed.

Participating in the session chaired by Jozef Miterka, deputy of the Provisional Provincial Council, were: Jan Podsiadlo, ZSL WK secretary, Jan Karkowski, PZPR KW secretary, and Adam Szegidewicz, commissioner and KOK National Defense Committee plenipotentiary.

#### Tuchola PRON Conference

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 23 Mar 83 p 6

Article by: (ko)

Text A city-gmina Council for National Understanding programs-elections conference took place on 16 March in Tuchola. This council represents a component part of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, and its chairman is Bronislaw Maciaszek. Following discussion of the PRON ideological declaration and statute, a resolution was passed which laid out the most immediate as well as the long-range tasks. The following were considered among the most significant tasks: concentration of effort on surmounting the current crisis, fulfillment of economic reform, establishment of socio-political conditions for the rapid abolition of martial law, and continued effort and work on the construction in Rudzki Most of a memorial to the martyred citizens of the Tuchola region. Long-range tasks consist of activity directed at economic improvement and beautification of the Tuchola region, particularly in connection with the upcoming 700-year anniversary of Tuchola, a consistent restoration of public life, freedom of civic initiative, responsibility for regional development, and activities directed toward preventing future political crises.

Three Tuchola delegates were selected as representatives to the PRON provincial congress. Mandates were given to Bronislaw Maciaszek, Kazimierz Sobek, and Ryszard Kufel.

A meeting is scheduled for 23 March at 13:30 at the Tuchola Hall of Culture between secondary school graduating students with the Presidium of the Council for National Understanding, as well as with city-gmina representatives. The PRON ideological declaration and statute principles will constitute the topic of discussion. Special consideration will be given to youth participation in a nationwide attempt for renewal of all aspects of life.

## Bydgoszcz PRON Conference

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 19-20 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by: (jas)]

[Text] A PRON city conference falling within the electoral campaign framework took place yesterday before the PRON First Congress. PRON regional cell voting delegates and PRON Provisional City Council members participated. Guests were present, and among them were the signatories of the PRON ideological declaration, deputies: Zenon Chudy, and Antoni Wesolowski, city commissioner Col Czeslaw Ratajczak, and Bydgoszcz city manager Andrzej Barkowski.

The report presented by the PRON Provisional City Council Chairman Stanislaw Szweda summarized the discussion which had taken place at the open OKOK neighborhood and factory meetings. Discussion participants supported PRON declaration and statute regulations, expressing questions and doubts only insofar as certain points were concerned. These statements expressed the hope that once the situation in the nation is stabilized PRON will not take over FJN's [Front of National Unity] ostentatious role, nor would it represent a tactical hold rather than a permanent aspect of the political system. Frequently asked questions also included PRON's participatory role in the establishment of laws initiated by the public. Many comments were devoted to the problem concerning the civic education of the populace, especially the younger generation. Strong disapproval was expressed at almost all of the OKON [Citizens' Committees for National Rebirth] neighborhood and factory meetings in respect to the lack of active support for the movement on the part of deputies, and lack on the part of the councils to establish contacts with OKON organizations, and indifference of city and provincial organizations regarding specific public matters, whose solution was demanded by the OKON activists. The report signaled many of these. It also defined the expectations formulated by the public concerning the PRON Provisional Council, the activities which the Presidium Council had undertaken from the moment of its inception last November were recorded.

It is worthwhile to note here the Presidium Council establishment of problem-solving groups for the following matters: public opinion and consultation of family, educational and cultural, and youth groups. During yesterday's conference, the composition of these groups was augmented to include delegates who had expressed their willingness to work. Also appointed were group chairmen.

The discussion concerned three basic topics: the PRON declaration, statute regulations, and programs of activity.

Insofar as the declaration and statutes were concerned, attention was focused on the work as being of vital importance in the life of every Pole; the declaration would also give moral satisfaction to those individuals who had been active in the OKON's during martial law, and the establishment of better relations between the government authorities, regional self-government and

workers' self-management organs. Discussions then ensued concerning changing PRON's name (opponents believe that "rebirth" suggests the movement's provisional character), as well as the establishment of principles governing youth participation in the movement.

Those deputies present in the hall received information on various other matters, specifically the need for an amelioration of working conditions, the mitigation of the crisis by bringing price increases to a halt, and carrying out more equitable distribution of consumer goods, safeguarding the region against flooding by the Brda River, and solving the painful issue of senior citizens' living conditions through the construction of housing.

Tasks formulated by the PRON City Council included the civic education of the youth, the integration of varied public opinions during the resolution of fundamental problems, closer relations between PRON councils and individual social groups, an increase in the accessibility of PRON cells, dissemination of PRON ideas, a broadening of the movement's public base, a better awareness of the public's needs and attitudes, and negotiation of movement and leadership ties.

Many of these tasks were included in the conference resolution. Participants resolved that from now on the existing PRON Provisional City Council would be known as the PRON City Council.

The conference accepted the candidates submitted by the recommending committees, and confirmed the following eight delegates to the PRON Congress: Stanislaw Szveda, Jerzy Jaskowiak, Franciszek Jasiulewicz, Leslaw Piotrkowicz, Grzegorz Frankowski, Janusz Urbanski, Jerzy Brzezinski, and Stanislaw Jarocki. Also accepted was the candidacy of 26 delegates to the PRON Provincial Congress.

#### Nidzica PRON Chairman Interviewed

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 2-3-4 Apr 83 p 4

[Interview with Roman Kosiba, chairman, Nidzica PRON Provisional City-Gmina Council and with Presidium Council members, Leonard Libudzki, Anna Bartosiak, and Ryszard Kumelski by J.B.]

[Text] GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA: First a few words with the chairman. Your activity in PRON even prompted discussion about you abroad.

R. Kosiba: It happens that Radio Free Europe called me the regime's collaborator and agitator.

R. Kumelski: Yet there was little reaction in Nidzica. Few listened to this broadcast.

R. Kosiba: Personally, I also didn't hear the broadcast, and later when I found out I laughed. It presents its personal manner of thinking, its personal opinion, and is critical toward the irregularities present in our



lives. According to Radio Free Ruope, if someone acts on behalf of the public he is immediately labeled as a shameful collaborator. I never belonged, nor do I currently belong to any political party.

GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA: Is it true that Anna Bartosiak has been collecting materials and documents about the movement in Nidzica from the very beginning?

R. Kosiba: We do not want to lose that which has been created by the national movement for understanding...

R. Kumelski: And that which it will bring in the near and distant future.

A. Bartosiak: The work of individuals has not always been remembered. The human memory is deceptive and unreliable. Therefore we are collecting and safeguarding the materials.

GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA: In Olsztyn, I heard some very interesting opinions concerning your recent preconference PRON conference. What in your opinion was most significant about this conference?

L. Libudzki: The authenticity and sincerity of the participants' speeches, as they dealt with various problems, particularly the issue of the moral rebirth of society.

R. Kumelski: In all the speeches the most noticeable aspect was that of the desire for mutual understanding with respect to the most important matters, and another thing, I was under the impression that fewer insipid comments which achieve nothing were made. Specific proposals and ideas dominated the discussion.

GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA: Certain comments were made concerning the movement's documents and its ideological declaration.

A. Bartosiak: Of course, these matters were also dealt with, but issues of great concern for city and gmina residents predominated.

GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA: I read in one of the press publications about Nidzica PRON's productive and practical activity with respect to vital issues such as: public services, housing, health care, agriculture, food economy, civic education, law and order, and trade. I would like one specific example of accomplishment of a specific issue.

L. Libudzi

L. Libudzki: An example is construction and public services. While we still represented the OKON, we brought about discussions between local administrative and political authorities together with qualified provincial authorities. As a result of that meeting and others, this year we will begin the construction of the much-needed sewage system near Warszawska Street, which will then allow for housing construction in this area. This is just one of the examples, simply a measure of achievement, and it represents our visiting card.



R. Kumelski: We work without an office, a secretary, telephones, and without a budgetary estimate. Our entire office can fit into Chairman Kosiba's briefcase. Please do not treat these phrases as reproaches or requests for office allocation. We are social workers, and our role depends upon work in the field, and upon the broadest contact with the population. Our presidium council sessions take place in the evening, after working hours. We have no intention of changing our style of operation. I can say that we fear nothing as much as the danger of bureaucratization and formalization of our movement.

R. Kosiba: Such a danger always exists. Why in the past various organizations and social agencies which were established spontaneously quickly grew into bureaucratic instruments. This became a habit, which in turn became second nature. We do not want the revival of this second nature in PRON.

GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA: Why do you work? One of you is retired, another is a teacher, a third is the director of a housing cooperative, and Ms Bartosiak is in charge of a library. It represents an enormous amount of work, since even Mr Kosiba though he is retired is involved in social work in addition to PRON activity.

R. Kumelski: We work simply because we feel that such a need exists, and we realize that the public needs us. I know that this sounds like a platitude, but it is hard to describe it in other words.

L. Libudzki: From the beginning, since the establishment of OKON we attempted to mitigate those various local conflicts, which however, occur in every region not only Nidzica.

R. Kumelski: We attempted to deal with all sorts of matters, even the most minute ones concerning the public's needs and those pointed out by the populace itself. Seemingly small problems and complaints which are not resolved tend to stratify and transform themselves into new conflicts.

Returning to the initial question of why we work, I can say for myself that my membership in the ZMP also obligates me to work in PRON.

L. Libudzki: Recently at the Sejm forum, serious decisions were taken with respect to the normalization of our socioeconomic existence. Thus, unity among ourselves is indispensable for us to deal in a positive manner with the general problems.

GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA: Referring to your experiences, what constitutes whether or not PRON is active in one area and obtains the desired results, and hardly acts in other cases?

L. Libudzki: This depends upon the PRON activists, not only on its founders, but on all who belong to the movement.

A. Bartosiak: As my comrade has noted, everything depends on the people. It is very important to note what values they represent, and what opinion and with what respect they are treated by the public.

L. Libudzki: They must demonstrate sincerity in their work, since otherwise the public perceives this. Showiness and cheap popularity does not arouse trust.

GAZETA OLSZYTNSKA: Do you ever encounter PRON opponents?

R. Kosiba: No, I have not met any resolute opponents. However, it is true that a portion of the populace is taking a wait and see attitude. I have attended many regional meetings. Among them were good participatory meetings, as well as those where unresponsiveness was obvious. This is due to many reasons. For example few individuals understand PRON's ideas adequately. In such cases it is necessary to explain and argue patiently.

R. Kumelski: I share the chairman's opinion. PRON's basic program documents, in spite of numerous press coverage, are not adequately understood and considered. Therefore, for example the ZMP city-gmina administrative plenum recently adopted a resolution whereby activists would be obligated to educate the members with the basic PRON precepts.

GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA: What is the most general thought which one can deduce from the current pregress campaign?

R. Kosiba: Not one, but many. Having listened to the discussions, the most obvious one for me, however, was the thought that once we have found ourselves in a crisis, we must all carry the burden equally and fairly and attempt to bring ourselves out of it through our own efforts.

A. Bartosiak: In my opinion, characteristic of this discussion was the fact that we must appeal to the talents and initiatives of the population. In fact, I believe that this obvious tendency for public consolidation is carrying out of cooperative activity, and belief in the strength of our management is most valuable in the current exchange of views and opinions.

12229

CSO: 2600/729

SCHOLAR VIEWS EAST-WEST MILITARY BALANCE

PAP Warsaw DAILY NEWS in English No 103, 26 May 83 pp 12-13

[Text] In an interview for Polish Radio, director of the Polish Institute of International Affairs, Professor Janusz Symonides, said:

The military balance is often discussed and this is undoubtedly the most important component of the overall balance. This overall balance can also be based on economic cooperation. It should also envisage the recognition of the interests of both sides. In this case we have a much broader concept whose recognition must be a foundation for security of Europe. Of course, the problem of military balance is discussed more often.

It is an extremely complex matter to compare military structures and potentials of both sides because they are not entirely symmetrical. Let us start, for instance, from conventional weapons. The Western side claims that the Warsaw Pact has the edge of about 150,000 soldiers. As for our data, they show a very insignificant advantage. What is the reason for this difference? There are many, but two of them are rather fundamental. In the Western armies, a great number of posts are held by civilian staffers who are not included into the armed forces.

On the other hand, in the structure of our army these functions are performed by soldiers. In most socialist countries, the armed forces perform some functions of preserving order, for example, the protection of frontiers and some functions connected with domestic order. In Western countries, units of this kind are subordinated to the Interior Ministry and are part of the police. If we only point to these two elements, the conventional forces are more or less equal.

Whereas, when we speak of medium-range nuclear systems, differences of opinion stem from the fact that French and British nuclear forces are not taken into account.

The present Reagan Administration led the arms race to unparalleled proportions. We cannot ignore the fact which specialists do not conceal that this unprecedented U.S. striving to obtain edge is perhaps based on the willingness to cause definite economic difficulties in socialist countries. Therefore, this is part of more general actions that could be termed as

steps aimed against socialist countries. It is obvious that with such a goal and intention it is not possible either to build international atmosphere or to continue detente.

The present situation is really a very dangerous one and it is evident that international relations deteriorate. But the question of whether there is a possibility of improvement must always be answered: there is always such a possibility.

But at the present moment it seems that perhaps there is no political will towards this on the part of the West and especially the U.S., Symonides said in an interview for Polish Radio.

CSO: 2020/38

## FITNESS OF CURRENT MILITARY CONSCRIPTS DISCUSSED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1676, 13 Feb 83  
pp 16-18

[Article by Slobodanka Ast: "A Leap From One Generation to the Next"]

[Text] "... And some women accompanied the soldiers...." The sounds of the rock blues hardly fit into the picture which recurred this winter at railroad stations. This January 20-year-old inductees were usually seen off by a whole flock of those who until yesterday were their fellow students, the boys and girls in their class. There were hardly any of those pathetic scenes from married life when the wife and children are left on the platform.

For 3 years now all the young men have gone into the army immediately after graduating from secondary school. What are they like, our age groups now coming of age for military service?

We talked on this topic with Col Dr Rajko Vukosavljevic, chairman of the Main Military Medical Commission, who for more than two decades has been following and studying the principal characteristics of the inductee population, as it is officially referred to.

#### Both Taller and Heavier

"The first group of inductees to be 'photographed' was in 1962. The young men coming before our induction commissions at that time were born in 1942 and 1943: the children, that is, of the war (we had to put those 2 years together because these were the incomplete wartime age groups amounting to about 120,000 to 140,000 people)," Dr Vukosavljevic said.

That generation of inductees was on the average about 170 cm tall. Back then in 1962 we noted that our 18-year-olds included young men who weighed only 36-38 kg, Dr Vukosavljevic recalls. This first postwar "survey" was extremely important, since it did indicate a certain level of combat capability, but also the working ability of the population of all regions. Indirectly this survey also revealed the underdeveloped regions.

"We found that every one of our republics has its north and its south," the subject of our interview said. "These anthropological charts showed that the



Hercegovinians and Montenegrins were tallest (the Splitians to take a smaller locality), the inductees from Slovenia were the best nourished, and our shortest young men came from Kosel Opstina, not far from Ohrid; they were some 10 cm shorter than the Yugoslav average."

Later the surveys were repeated--in 1969, 1972.... Specialists found that each generation was on the average 0.25 cm taller than the previous one. One interesting finding of the specialists is that nowhere did they find that young men from rural areas are better nourished than young men from the city. Of course, YPA [Yugoslav People's Army] specialists were not satisfied with merely taking a picture of the situation and with pedantic recording of statistics; kitchens were opened in the schools, in some regions as high as 20 percent of the inductees were underdeveloped and undernourished, and greater attention began to be paid to the teaching of physical education in the schools.

"That 1962 survey which included inductees from the entire country gave us a standard which like old wine has in time become more valuable. All our comparisons and studies are measured against it."

The most recent reports of induction commissions say that our 18-year-old young men today, the children of those 1962 inductees, have made a leap from one generation to the next--on the average they are 1.75 cm taller and weigh about 6.5 kg more than their counterparts measured in 1962, and their chest circumference has increased 8 cm. In the opinion of NIN's informant this accelerating trend in height and development has not unfortunately been accompanied by proportionately greater physical and functional abilities. More than 10 percent of the young men in the age group fall in the obese category, which certainly has an adverse effect on their stamina, agility and strength. There is obviously some basis for that phrase about the "galofak generation."

Dr Vukosavljevic blames the diet (wrong from the outset!), the way of life, housing--cages in a high rise (children no longer have a yard in front of the house to play in), the school (we have drastically cut back even on hours devoted to physical education).

"The children will forget a mountain of unnecessary facts we stuff in their heads, but their spine will always remain curved. We have not devoted enough attention to physical education, we have not managed to raise physical training to the level of physical fitness," Dr Vukosavljevic said.

The most recent measurements show that the most significant changes have occurred in the city and that the health pattern of inductees from rural areas has changed the least. To be sure, even there there has been a rapid increase in the standard of living, there are fewer infectious diseases, rickets and avitaminosis. However, the army tests and training show that although rural young people have better conditions for physical activity, they are not more physically fit. Physical fitness is in proportion to the level of schooling, Dr Vukosavljevic said without beating about the bush.

At one time more than one-fourth of the inductees were unfit, but now, at least according to the results of the induction commissions, they appear to be the most fit in the world--91.5 percent of the "induction group" go into the armed forces. Are we really the most healthy?

### "The Fittest in the World"

"If we are to judge by the number of young men whom we declare fit for military service after the first examination, which undoubtedly ought to be an indicator of health and fitness, then we are truly the healthiest and fittest nation in Europe," Dr Vukosavljevic says, but he adds that this conclusion probably is not valid after all. He rightly points out that everything depends on criteria. Large countries such as the United States or the USSR with more than 250 million inhabitants can allow themselves the luxury of having extremely strict criteria in evaluating fitness for military service.

It is interesting that two decades ago the strict induction commissions issued temporary deferments to all of 15-20 percent of the young men and left them to grow more. There are areas from which one-fifth of the young men were undernourished!

Now, however, the view prevails that a place can be found for every young man in the army, so there are fewer and fewer "unfit" and "exempted." Every 18-year-old is examined by some 10 specialists. All characteristics from anthropometric measurements to psychological testing are taken into account. By contrast with the rest of the world, the health pattern of our inductees has improved essentially, especially with respect to height and development, as we have already mentioned. There has been a striking decrease in the number of physical defects and impairments (there is no pellagra, rickets, TB, diphtheria ...). And it is certainly a new qualitative feature that there are fewer illiterates and semiliterates among the inductees.

The ever higher percentage of young men fit for military service is ultimately the result of the conception of nationwide defense, of the effort to equip every citizen for basic combat duties, above all for self-protection, Dr Vukosavljevic says.

### The Troubles With the "Unfit"

Although we are people who have traditionally regarded military service as a patriotic duty and obligation of all fit males (in some places someone who was unfit could not even get married!), in the early seventies there was a virtual fad of "exemption from military service."

"At that time we had only 80 percent of the young men fit for military service, and another 5 or 6 percent were sent back before completing their military service. That means that almost one-fourth of the young men were not in the military.... There were opstinas in which all of 40 percent of the young men were exempted! We found ourselves in a paradoxical situation: on the one hand the conception of nationwide defense and on the other the large number of 'unfits' in their best years. We saw that we could not go on that way any

longer--we analyzed the situation, we altered the criteria, we introduced specialized institutions for induction," Col Dr Rajko Vukosavljevic said.

Now there are not any major problems with "unfits." Most of those exempted had deformations of the muscular and skeletal system, and then impairments of hearing and vision. However, it is disturbing that the number of mental and nervous disorders is increasing (including ulcer as a psychosomatic illness). There are considerably more of these illnesses than at one time, Dr Vukosavljevic says.

The figures indicate that there are fewer who are unfit, but there are more with limited fitness. Dr Vukosavljevic explains this phenomenon this way:

"Once we have adopted the conception of nationwide defense, once we have set down in our constitution that everyone has the right and obligation to defend his country, once the law says that all citizens of the SFRY who have general work ability shall discharge military obligation in wartime and peacetime, then every young man must be given the opportunity to exercise that right and discharge that obligation of his. Those with limited fitness went into the military even in the past, but now, thanks to the new system of induction and more detailed examinations by specialists, we actually only record the objective condition and point out to commanding officers that Inductee XY can or cannot perform certain duties. As physicians we are required to say--this man is suffering from this or that, or, he has less ability in this or that, we are sending him to you in the army, but be mindful of his health. Last year fewer than 5,000 inductees were sent back before serving their required military service, which is a kind of record."

We do not need to specifically mention that this humane and more flexible approach, this understanding for the ability of those with limited fitness, is already scoring important political points, but also points for defense for both the armed forces and society, though not without additional efforts by commanding officers and military units. It has been stated in FRONT that officers in units are against this epidemic of those with limited fitness.

"Our officers in the units are as a rule what we call 'maximalists.' They all want to have the best, fittest and toughest soldiers.... But what are we to do when we are not all like that?" our informant said.

Thanks to the new method of induction, somewhat looser criteria combined with detailed examinations by specialists, there are probably fewer and fewer pressures and secret channels for "exemption." For years the sports-loving segment of the nation has been concerned about whether certain top stars will be exempted from military service as "unfit." The chairman of the Main Military Medical Commission says that the largest number of unfit have been precisely among top athletes, and that among the foremost stars, of course--the soccer players! This truly requires no comment at all.

"Now that the law is the same for everyone, there is no longer even the slightest excitement about star athletes, there is no ducking, and there are no fictitious schools or universities. To be sure, there might still be some minor star in basketball or swimming, and that is all," Dr Vukosavljevic says.

## What We Have Gained and What We Have Lost

It is quite certain that a 27-year-old, very often a plump daddy or fat husband, has a harder time getting through field exercises, long marches and tactical training. He has already gained a reputation for putting away stuffed cabbage and stew, double brandies and spritzers and smokes one cigarette after another. This is a man who is all out of breath if he has to climb to the fifth floor. A 30-year-old engineer who did his military service 3 years ago said that the most difficult thing for him was when his 20-year-old friends in the garrison called him "uncle" and "old man."

"This is not a matter of vanity. It is a fact that that is exactly how I felt."

There is no question that the most important achievement of the new manner of induction is the fact that 20-year-olds have an easier time doing their military service. It is, of course, left to parents and commanding officers, with the help of teams of experts, to evaluate the other aspects of this innovation. The military physicians say that one thing is beyond doubt, most young men become strikingly stronger over the 15 months.

Col Dr Rajko Vukosavljevic also spoke about another aspect of the innovation:

"We have gained something, but we have also lost quite a bit--above all people with university training and their participation in the work of the military unit. These were mature individuals, respected, and they helped in carrying out training and instruction. Teachers, physicians, engineers, lawyers, and pharmacists performed a number of very responsible duties. How will we reorganize now when the material conditions are considerably more modest? We have to find some other additional solutions."

The new law has finally dealt with an old idea--military training for women in units of the YPA armed forces. (Women are not required to do military service, but this innovation makes it possible for them to volunteer for military training in the YPA lasting from 2 to 6 months and after that to become reservists (vojni obveznici).)

NIN's even-tempered informant proposes that we leave this serious topic for another occasion.

[Left box, p 17]

### Measurements of Inductees

<u>Year When Measurements Were Made</u>	<u>Height</u>	<u>Weight</u>	<u>Average Chest Circumference</u>
1962	170.01	60.01	84.27
1969	171.83	65.10	87.88
1978	173.80	65.10	90.80
Forecast for 1982	174.76	66.31	92.16



[Right box, p 17]

#### Our Own "Bomb"

How many of us would be able to hike 10-15 km at one go (to flee if necessary)?

"In case of a sudden war our greatest losses would be from our own 'bomb.' I think that the greatest shortcoming of the conception of our nationwide defense is that military registrants are not sufficiently prepared to make a maximum commitment of an extra reserve of their physical abilities in a moment of surprise."

[Box, p 18]

#### How About Drug Addicts

Even the military specialists warn that drug addiction is knocking on the door. Dr Rajko Vukosavljevic says that the number of addicts among inductees is practically negligible, far below 1 percent, but the occurrence of just one addict upsets the unit.

Dr Vukosavljevic feels that solving the problem of drug addiction should not be the duty of just one structure in our society. He, along with his colleague Dr Stevan Petrovic, neuropsychiatrist, is an advocate of the idea that the YPA assume broader obligations in taking care of drug addicts. In his opinion society has not yet found the right formula, but to leave these young people to themselves and to throw them from one medical institution to another like a ping-pong ball is neither humane nor socialist, Dr Vukosavljevic says.

7045

CSO: 2800/311



DECREE ON ALLOCATION OF MILITARY MANPOWER

Belgrade SLUZHBI LIST SFRJ in Serbo-Croatian No 17, 8 Apr 83 pp 377-379

[Decree issued by the Federal Executive Council on 24 March 1983 in Belgrade and signed by Borisav Srebric, vice chairman of the Federal Executive Council]

[Text] On the basis of Article 77, Paragraph 1, Subparagraph 6, of the Law on Nationwide Defense (SLUZHBI LIST SFRJ, No 21, 1982), the Federal Executive Council issues the following

DECREE

on the Basic Criteria for Assignment of Working People and Citizens To Meet the Needs of Replenishing the Armed Forces and Other Needs of Nationwide Defense

Article 1

This decree sets forth the basic criteria for assignment of working people and citizens to meet the needs of replenishing the armed forces and other needs of nationwide defense.

For the purpose of this decree "other needs of nationwide defense" means the needs of replenishing the following: the police, communications units of federal bodies and agencies and organizations and communications units of sociopolitical communities, basic and other organizations of associated labor referred to in Articles 41, 42 and 43 of the Law on Nationwide Defense (hereinafter "the Law"), basic and other organizations of associated labor and other self-managing organizations and communities, services and agencies as referred to in Articles 145 and 206 of the Law and government bodies and agencies and the organs of sociopolitical organizations referred to in Article 191 of the Law.

Article 2

Reservists shall be assigned first to the armed forces whose residence or place of employment is closest to the place of deployment of the wartime unit being replenished.

In wartime, in case of an immediate danger of war, or in other exceptional circumstances, volunteers may also be assigned to the armed forces.

#### Article 3

Reservists shall be assigned to meet the needs of replenishing the armed forces during the first 10 years after they have served their required military service.

As an exception to the provision of Paragraph 1 of this article policemen and other authorized officials of law enforcement agencies shall not be assigned to replenish the armed forces so long as they are serving in law enforcement agencies.

#### Article 4

Reservists shall be assigned to the armed forces according to the following order of priority:

- 1) to commands at all levels and combat units of the Yugoslav People's Army to the level of the regiment--brigade--division;
- 2) to special territorial defense units;
- 3) to territorial defense staffs of sociopolitical communities and mobile (manevarske) territorial defense units;
- 4) to other parts of the Yugoslav People's Army;
- 5) to positional (prostorne) territorial defense forces.

#### Article 5

Reservists shall be assigned to replenish the Yugoslav People's Army according to the following criteria:

- 1) reservists up to age 35 shall be assigned to combat units at the level of the company (artillery battery), battalion (artillery battalion), regiment--brigade and division of the ground forces and the corresponding air force, air defense or naval units;
- 2) reservists up to age 32 shall be assigned to paratroop units and reserve naval commandoes up to age 30 and other reservists who are divers up to age 35 shall be assigned to naval commando and frogman units;
- 3) reservists--men up to age 40 and women up to age 35--shall be assigned to other parts of the Yugoslav People's Army.

Reservists up to age 40 may also be assigned to the units mentioned in Paragraph 1, Subparagraph 1, of this article in an area where there are not a sufficient number of reservists age 35 or under.

Reservists--men up to age 50 and women up to age 45--may be assigned to the units referred to in Paragraph 1, Subparagraph 1, of this article and to other parts of the Yugoslav People's Army, and that to the duties of drivers of motor vehicles which have been classified as noncombat vehicles, to duties of craftsmen or to other specialized duties if there are no reservists in these specialties in the younger age groups.

#### Article 6

Reservists shall be assigned to replenish territorial defense according to the following criteria:

- 1) reservists shall be assigned to special units (paratroop, frogman and other special-purpose units) according to the criteria stated in Article 5, Paragraph 1, Subparagraph 2, of this decree;
- 2) reservists shall be assigned to mobile units according to the criteria stated in Article 5, Paragraph 1, Subparagraphs 1 and 3, and Paragraphs 2 and 3, of this decree;
- 3) reservists--men up to age 60 and women up to age 50--shall be assigned to positional forces primarily from local communities and the basic and other organizations of associated labor in which those forces are formed.

#### Article 7

Special territorial defense units and mobile territorial defense units deployed on a territory where there are not enough reservists to replenish them shall be replenished by assignment of reservists from the territory of the republic or autonomous province.

Units and institutions of mobile territorial defense forces organized in a basic or other organization of associated labor or local community shall be replenished by assignment of reservists and volunteers who are employed in those organizations or who are entered in the military records for the area of that local community.

#### Article 8

Reserve noncommissioned officers, reserve commissioned officers and reserve military employees (hereinafter "reserve military officers") shall be assigned to replenish the armed forces in the order of priority stated in Article 4 of this decree so as to staff first command and administrative positions in combat units of the Yugoslav People's Army and then in special territorial defense units, territorial defense staffs of sociopolitical communities and mobile territorial defense units.

#### Article 9

Reserve military officers shall be assigned to command and administrative positions in the units referred to in Article 5, Paragraph 1, Subparagraphs 1

and 2, and Article 6, Paragraph 1, Subparagraphs 1 and 2, of this decree according to this criterion: to positions of squad or platoon leader and equivalent positions up to age 35, to positions of commanding officer of a company (artillery battery), commanding officer of a battalion (artillery battalion) and equivalent positions up to age 40; to positions of commanding officer of a regiment, brigade or equivalent positions up to age 50.

Reserve military officers--men up to age 60 and women up to age 50--shall be assigned to other command and administrative positions in the armed forces.

#### Article 10

Reservists shall be assigned to positions in the armed forces according to their specialized ability (specialty listed in military records), physical and mental abilities and other characteristics necessary for successful performance of missions and tasks in the positions to which they are assigned.

#### Article 11

Reservists shall be assigned first to duties for which they have been trained in peacetime or to similar duties which they can perform successfully in view of their qualifications.

Reservists who are classified in pilot, paratroop, diving and commando specialties shall be first assigned to the armed forces according to the order of priority stated in Article 4 of this decree.

Reservists who have been classified in missile, radar computer, military police, scout, code, cryptographic and teletype specialties, radio and telephone operators, drivers of military vehicles and self-propelled guns, driver-operators of engineer equipment, gunners on combat vehicles and gunners of artillery guns and mechanics of all specialties shall as a rule be assigned to positions in the respective specialties for which they have been trained in the units and institutions of the appropriate arm or service of the armed forces.

#### Article 12

Reservists who are crew members of aircraft and vessels and drivers of motor vehicles shall be assigned to units, institutions and staffs of the armed forces to which the aircraft, vessels or motor vehicles they have been assigned.

#### Article 13

As a rule reservists up to age 35 shall be assigned from the reserves to replenish the police according to the following criteria:

- 1) individuals who have been employed as policemen or other authorized officials of law enforcement agencies;

2) individuals who did their military service in the military police, scout, border, paratroop, naval commando and guard units unless they have been assigned to corresponding positions in military police, scout, diver and paratroop units of the Yugoslav People's Army and special territorial defense units;

3) individuals trained in individual military specialties which correspond to the classification of specialized positions in the police corresponding to Subparagraph 2 of this article;

4) other individuals if they have not been assigned to combat units of the Yugoslav People's Army or special territorial defense units.

#### Article 14

As a rule reservists--men up to age 60 and women up to age 50--shall be assigned to communications units established by federal bodies, agencies and organizations and sociopolitical communities to meet the needs of administration in those bodies and agencies, organizations and communities according to the order of priority stated in Article 4, Paragraph 2, of this decree.

#### Article 15

Reservists up to age 35 performing tasks and jobs especially important to nationwide defense in basic and other organizations of associated labor as stated in Articles 41 and 42 of the Law may be assigned to the armed forces if there are other persons who are not in the reserves or persons in the reserves older than 35 who are trained to perform those tasks and jobs and may be assigned to them.

#### Article 16

Only those reservists in basic and other organizations of associated labor referred to in Article 43 of the Law and manufacturing armament and military equipment or equipped for such production may be assigned to the armed forces who according to the established wartime organization and classification of tasks and jobs may not be assigned to those organizations.

#### Article 17

Reservists up to age 35 in basic and other organizations of associated labor and other self-managing organizations and communities, staff services and agencies of sociopolitical communities and public organizations who perform tasks and jobs especially important to nationwide defense in the context of Articles 145 and 206 of the Law may be assigned to the armed forces if there are other persons equipped to perform those tasks and jobs who are not reservists or who are reservists older than age 35 and who may be assigned to them.



#### Article 18

Reservists up to age 35 may as an exception be assigned to government bodies and agencies and the agencies of sociopolitical organizations to perform tasks and jobs which are especially important to the functioning of those bodies, agencies and organizations in wartime or in exceptional situations if there are no other persons equipped to perform those tasks and jobs who are not in the reserves or who are reservists older than age 35 for assignment to them.

The jobs and tasks referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be designated by the Federal Executive Council for bodies, agencies and organizations in the Federation and by the competent bodies of the republics or provinces for the bodies, agencies and organizations in the republic or autonomous province.

#### Article 19

Reservists who have special training and who are performing tasks and jobs in units, staffs and other civil defense agencies organized in basic and other organizations of associated labor and other self-managing organizations and communities and staff services and agencies of sociopolitical communities and of other public organizations in the context of Article 145 of the Law shall be assigned to the armed forces under the conditions stated in Article 15 of this decree.

#### Article 20

A reservist shall not be assigned to the armed forces so long as he is a member of a committee for nationwide defense and social self-protection of a sociopolitical community.

#### Article 21

Assignment of reservists to meet the needs of replenishing the armed forces and to meet other needs done before the date when this decree takes effect shall be brought into conformity with the criteria contained in this decree within a period of 6 months from the date when it takes effect.

#### Article 22

On the day when this decree takes effect the Decree on Basic Criteria for Assignment of Citizens To Meet the Needs of Replenishing the Armed Forces of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Other Needs of National Defense (SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ, No 50, 1975) shall cease to be valid.

#### Article 23

This decree shall take effect on the eighth day after publication in SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ.

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CSO: 2800/312

## SLOVENIAN WRITERS PROTEST COURT INTERVENTION

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 30 May 83 p 3

[Excerpt] In a discussion of several hours with Joze Smole, president of the Ljubljana city committee of the LC, in which France Stiglic, film director and member of the Slovenian Presidency and Bozo Janhuba, assistant republic public prosecutor participated, members of the Society of Slovenian Writers decisively expressed opposition to the "court-settling of accounts with literature and writers," as well as to the deposits [required] for crossing the border which has hampered contacts with the outside world. They asked that the court which sentenced Gojko Djogo recognize its mistake and immediately free him from the sentence and that the public media publish the documentation pertaining to the criminal prosecution of some of our writers and other pressures. They agreed that literature, as well as any other artistic work, should be subject to artistic criticism and public judgment, but that courts and other state organs cannot and must not become a place for settling accounts with writers.

This discussion which was organized by the Writers Society on the initiative of some of its members, was preceded by a written petition from [Writers] Society regarding the "case" of the writer Igor Torkar which was forwarded to some of our republic officials and forums. This petition stated that the council of the Slovenian Writers Society had twice discussed the "verdict in the name of the people," according to which the writer Igor Torkar had been sentenced to three months in prison and one year on probation, for satirical verses he had written and published in the journal, STOP 9, in December 1982. The petition said that Torkar in these verses attacked interventionism and the exceptions made in applying measures, and he advocated consistency by all party members. The last sentence in this petition which was signed by the president of the Slovenian Writers Society, Tone Partljic, says: "Despite the belief that every writer should answer to society for his writing, we do not agree with intervention by public prosecutor and, of course, we are in favor of a public, literary, and uncompromising settling [of the situation]."

The verdict against Torkar is still not definitive and he was sentenced because of insulting and slandering a specific person who held a public social function and not because of his "literary work," or "satirical verses." Jure Detela has also come into conflict with the law. He was fined 700 dinars for slandering the religious sentiments of citizens.

Some writers also mentioned at the above meeting that there are four members of the present administrative council of the [Writers] Society who have previously been before the courts, that it is impossible for some writers to stand as candidates for more important social offices, that certain works and their authors have been unjustifiably profaned, that access to [some] books is prevented, the performance of some dramatic works is banned, that some writers cannot be awarded the important Preseren Prize, etc. It was also brought out that there are allegedly eight Yugoslav writers before the courts. In connection with this the writers at the discussion stressed that in Yugoslavia writers are not maltreated but that even these rare cases should not occur since our self-management socialist society is adequately established so as to examine and resolve cases in a democratic way through dialogue and counter-arguments.

Some members of the society who participated could be reproached for not adequately defining their judgments, for tending toward excessive guild-like solidarity and lack of criticism. They also tended to make categorical judgments on the basis of incomplete information or even disinformation. At the same time it is evident--and France Stiglic pointed this out--that many members of the society are insufficiently active in various self-management organs and sociopolitical organizations, especially the SAWP, where they have every opportunity to inform themselves, criticize---, and influence the self-management and democratic resolving of problems in which both writers and citizens are interested.

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YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

DEATH SENTENCE CONFIRMED--It was reported on 1 June that the special council of the Supreme Court of Kosovo, as the court of the third instance, rejected the appeal of Ferat Muja (49) who was sentenced to death by the district court in Titova Mitrovica for the killing of 21-year-old Danilo Milincic in the village of Samodreza, near Vucitrn, on 2 June 1982. [Excerpt] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Jun 83 p 5]

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**DATE FILMED**

July 11, 1983